

THE IMITATIO CHRISTI IN THE
SPIRITUALITY OF CHARLES DE FOUCAULD

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DEDICATION

To the volunteers who run the
Corner Stone Coffee House and
Steps projects of the Council
of West End Churches, Edinburgh.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is
all my own work.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>DSP</u>	<u>Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire</u>
<u>IC</u>	St. Teresa of Avila, <u>The Interior Castle</u>
<u>NCE</u>	<u>New Catholic Encyclopaedia</u>
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>ODCC</u>	<u>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</u>
<u>PW</u>	<u>The Complete Works of St. Teresa of Avila,</u> trans. E.A. Peers, 3 vols (London: Sheed and Ward, 1946)
<u>SJT</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>TDNT</u>	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u>

Other abbreviations used are explained in the sections of the notes in which they appear, and those relating to De Foucauld are listed on pp. 548-50.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This study of the imitatio Christi in the life and thought of Charles de Foucauld, soldier, explorer, Trappist, hermit, and missionary-monk (1858-1916), is written against a background of common psychological, ethical, and theological questions about the validity of any attempt at making the imitatio Christi a policy for Christian living.

Part One has the dual function of being a survey and assessment of ways of thinking about imitation in human life generally, and about the imitatio Christi in particular, and also providing a context in which De Foucauld's own interpretation may be assessed. The study of imitation argues that it is an ubiquitous and essential activity, and although complex and not without problems in some of its forms, is capable of contributing to personality development throughout life. The survey of Christian thinking about the imitatio Christi concludes that the biblical and traditional basis for it is strong, and that much current criticism or neglect of the doctrine stems from a general existential standpoint rather than from theological objections.

In Part Two the practical consequences of taking the imitatio Christi as a rule of life are traced through the letters and many hitherto unused writings of De Foucauld. The gradual modification and simplification of his concept, based initially on the seventeenth century idea of imitating the 'hidden life' of Jesus at Nazareth, and a monastic interpretation which stressed the rule of 'enclosure', is traced both theologically and biographically. Particular attention is devoted to the influence of St. Teresa of Avila's life and teaching, and to De Foucauld's under-

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standing of her ascetical and mystical theology, whilst the biographical study illustrates how he gradually came to an integrated self and self-concept, through simplifying his complex preconceptions about the requirements of the imitatio Christi by the application of its basic principle of seeking the will of God through the love of Christ in facing the concrete demands of every day situations.

The thesis concludes with suggestions as to the permanent significance of De Foucauld's spiritual pilgrimage for the formulation of a doctrine of the imitatio Christi today.

INTRODUCTION :

THE IMITATIO CHRISTI AS A PROBLEM AND
DE FOUCAULD AS A POSSIBLE ANSWER

Many people find the idea of the Christian life as an imitatio Christi more of a novel idea than a problem, for despite its place in New Testament thought and Christian tradition it is hardly ever mentioned except by Latin American theologians who see Jesus as the model liberator involving himself in the historical process.¹

Those who do pause long enough to give the idea a second thought tend to find too many problems presenting themselves to make serious consideration worthwhile, yet a close look at these objections, often assumed to be well-founded on commonsense as well as theological grounds, will demonstrate that they need not be considered insurmountable. Their strength in current thinking is so great, however, that considerable discussion has had to be given to them in the first part of this study.

A third reaction to the imitatio Christi concept is to see it as a puzzle rather than an insoluble problem, a bright mystery that is worth making an effort to approach. Such a feeling may be one of instinctive attraction to the Christ of the Gospels, or the result of a more considered process of reasoning that there is some kind of unity between St. Paul's aim to present every man mature in Christ (Col 1.28), and his thinking about the imitatio Christi and the Church as the body of Christ. Or, as Moule describes it, borrowing some thoughts of Dodd on Johannine thought: since Christ

...was the true self of the human race, standing in that perfect union with God to which others can attain only as they are incorporate in Him; the mind, whose thought is truth absolute..., which other men think after Him; the true life of man, which other men live by sharing it with Him...It is clear that this conception raises a new problem. It challenges the mind to discover a doctrine of personality, which will make conceivable this combination of the universal and the particular in a single person. A naive individualism regarding man, or a naive anthropomorphism regarding God, makes nonsense of the Johannine Christology. Ancient thought, when it left the ground of such naive conceptions, lost hold upon the concrete actuality of the person. It denied personality in man by making the human individual no more than an unreal 'imitation' of the abstract universal Man, and it denied personality in God by making Him no more than the abstract unity of being. A Christian philosophy starting with the Johannine doctrine of Jesus as Son of Man should be able to escape the impasse into which all ancient thought fell, and to give an account of personality in God and in ourselves.²

Such varied reactions suggest that the advice given to Alice to:

'Begin at the beginning, go on to the end, and then stop', is not necessarily appropriate for every reader of this study. Some may prefer to approach it more as a programmed text, entering at a point related to their interests and following paths suggested by the questions that arise. Thus Chapters One and Two might be initially left on one side by the reader who finds the following observations to be self-evidently true:

Man is a creature who makes pictures of himself and then comes to resemble the picture.³

To live over people's lives is nothing unless we live over their perceptions, live over the growth, the change, the varying intensity of the same - since it was by these things they themselves lived.⁴

Pilate: "What do you mean by believing in you?"

Jesus: "Seeing the world as I do. What else could it mean?"⁵

When a person is related only to God, then the relationship is like that of a child to a father. When Christ enters into the relationship, then man is treated like an adult. Imitation and voluntariness show that the requirement here is higher than for a child. Yet it must also be remembered that Christ is also grace; and the very one who will help a person to strive.⁶

Such a reader, untroubled by fears that imitation is a less than fully human activity, or that attempts at an imitatio Christi are no more than manifestations of pelagianism or legalism, will turn immediately to the second part of this study to discover how one fairly recent, single-minded and well-documented attempt to do this fared. After reading the outline of Charles de Foucauld's life in Chapter Three, he will be able to choose (p.207) which questions about the imitatio Christi to pursue in the remaining chapters.

Seen in general terms, Chapter Four is a discussion of the various components that make up an attempt to make the imitatio Christi a rule of life, and a consideration of their inter-relation. Chapters Five and Six have the more specific concern of exploring the way that theoretical presuppositions about the nature of the imitatio Christi interact with the requirements of concrete situations. So these two chapters may be read as a commentary on the assertion that if Jesus is to be understood as the revelation of man:

We look not for an ideal humanity but for contextual man, not for patterned humanity but for man in action, not for essential humanity but for existential man, not for rounded humanity but for man on the edge of nothingness.⁷

The first question that this statement raises is one about the relationship of De Foucauld's spiritual pilgrimage to ideals of

personality development, so the reader is invited to turn back to Chapters One and Two to consider how the pattern of death and resurrection in De Foucauld's life compares with general thinking on the subject. In theological terms one would ask if there was a fair balance between an imitatio crucis and an imitatio glorie.⁸ In psychological terms it would be a question of how far it is true that the acquisition of a particular identity involves transcending others. Erikson⁹ has something to contribute on this, as do Jung¹⁰ and Maslow¹¹, although their contrasting approaches may perhaps be better focussed in the implications of the assertion that:

Moral activity is not aimed at turning a person into the whole person, the person whose potentialities as such are fulfilled. Instead moral activity is aimed at turning a person into the new person, who stands in discontinuity with, and even opposition to, the old person.¹²

A second question which might be prompted by the phrase 'man on the edge of nothingness', if not immediately raised by De Foucauld's life, is that of the relationship between one individual and another, or between the individual and tradition.¹³ In what senses might it be true that 'the man who follows his destiny is allowed neither models nor ideals; nothing cherished or comforting'?¹⁴ Was De Foucauld individualistic in spite of his devotion to the imitatio Christi, or did this understanding of his vocation reinforce his singularity as a 'Christ' rather than a disciple or follower? Finally, if he was individualistic rather than individual, was this a necessary result of such an approach to the Christian life, or does Pauline and Johannine thought suggest that the imitatio Christi is the key to a full definition of humanity in relational terms, as Moule and Dodd suggest?

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

1. cf., J. Sobrino, Christology at the Crossroads (London: SCM Press, 1978) pp.15 note 25, 132f, 392. In addition one should mention H. K  ng, On Being a Christian (London: Collins, 1977) pp.548-53 who quotes Gustafson, cf., p.144 infra.
2. C.F.D. Moule, The Origin of Christology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) pp.50f, quoting C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1953) p.249.
3. I. Murdoch, quoted in E. Osborn, Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.122.
4. Henry James, as quoted on title page of I. Jack, Keats and the Mirror of Art (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).
5. B. Shaw, Preface to 'On the Rocks' (1934), The Bodley Head Bernard Shaw, 6 (London: 1973) p.623.
6. S  ren Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers, II, ed. and trans. H.V. Hong and E.H. Hong (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970) excerpt 1875, p.333.
7. F.W. Dillistone 'Jesus the Revelation of Man', in N. Pittenger (ed.) Christ for Us Today (London: SCM Press, 1968), pp.97f.
8. cf., pp.136-143, 474 infra.
9. cf., pp.21-27 infra.
10. cf., pp.28-31 infra.
11. cf., pp.32-39 infra.
12. Sobrino, op.cit., pp.392, 394.
13. cf., pp.55-59 infra.
14. H. Hesse, Demian (London: Peter Owen, 1958) p.143.

CHAPTER ONE : IMITATION IN HUMAN LIFE

1 - PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this section the different perspectives that psychology has offered on imitation in human life are surveyed in order to build up a picture of the positive and negative aspects possible in relationships between imitators and models. The study is preceded by a brief analysis of the different types or levels of imitation that psychologists have been concerned to observe and explain, in order to distinguish and attend to the one that involves the person most fully, and thus has most potential for a positive assessment of imitatio Christi. This theme of 'identification' is then followed through from the foundations laid by Freud in order to consider the consequences of it stemming from different motivations, and being understood in the context of different concepts of the nature of the self and of its relation to society. The implications of all this for an appraisal of imitatio Christi are summarised in the next section but one, as it is first necessary to narrow the field of enquiry down to certain ethical issues before reaching a conclusion in this prolegomenon from below to any future reconstruction of the doctrine.

THEORIES OF IMITATION

The imitation of one person by another is such a widely observed phenomenon that it was not until the 1920's that it was considered worth saying anything more than that it was the natural instinct at the root of social conformity. Since then, the view that imitation or social conformity were laws of nature or of God has been abandoned and their mechanisms have been closely studied.

It has been said¹ that 'imitation' as an explanation of social conduct stresses the conative or will element of Plato's doctrine of the three faculties of the mind, although it does include the affective and the cognitive in some of its formulations, as might be expected when a concept is extended to cover the behaviour of the whole person. 'Imitation' also covers a very wide range of behaviour, including as it does 'any occasion where a stimulus situation gives rise to motor activity of a sort that resembles the stimulus situation'.² Study suggests that no one principle is involved but that at least five apparently distinct mechanisms can be observed, only one of which bears any relation to the early instinctive theories. This is motor mimicry, 'a perceptual motor reaction at present not fully understood',³ in which the contemplation of some action being performed leads to an involuntary muscular imitation accompanied by the disappearance of consciousness of the distinction between the self and the object observed.⁴

The other four mechanisms, which all lie in the realm of learning theory, are classical conditioning, instrumental conditioning, cognitive structuring and identification. The latter, 'emphasising the emotional disposition of the whole person to resemble some model',⁵ is of most relevance to this study, but something must be said about the others.

In classical conditioning the subject learns to give a particular response every time a certain stimulus is applied, even if the response is not the one they would normally give. Thus in Pavlov's experiments dogs learned to salivate at the sound of a bell as it was accompanied for a time by the provision of food. The response eventually became so ingrained that it continued when food was no longer supplied.

Allport includes the 'echo principle' under this same heading. This states that if a teacher copies an action which a child happens fortuit-

iously to be performing, a connection is made so that the child will echo the action if the teacher performs it subsequently.

The problem with both these approaches (apart from the question of the validity of making analogies with animal behaviour or extending the results of simple laboratory experiments to cover more complex situations) is that they only account for the repetition of behaviour which already exists. In the first case only the stimulus is altered. In the second, appreciable changes of behaviour would require conditions akin to those enjoyed by the monkeys engaged in typing out the complete works of Shakespeare.

In instrumental conditioning the behaviour of a model is imitated because the imitator is rewarded for doing so. It has also been observed that a model may be imitated because his action is rewarded although the imitator does not receive any reward of his own. This phenomenon may be classified as a variety of instrumental conditioning by postulating that the imitator vicariously experiences the model's reward. There are however difficulties in proving that this takes place and confusion has been caused by using the concept 'vicarious imitation' to describe the observed fact of the imitation of a rewarded model without any reference to the presence or absence of feelings of reward in the subject.⁶

Cognitive structuring is used by Allport as a general term to include 'all instances of deliberate copying and insightful reproduction.'. Under this heading would come theories of conscious rôle-taking and studies of moral decision-making, thus allowing for (although not explaining) something denied by the instinctive and behaviouristic theories dealt with previously: individual choice. At one end of the scale a model might be followed in a single rôle or decision, while at the other end the correlation between the behaviour of subject and model could be so close that it would be more apt to use the fifth understanding of imitation, identification.

IMITATION AND IDENTIFICATION

In the classification given above 'identification' appears as the highest form of imitation, the one which most involves the person. Yet the differences between these mechanisms forces one to ask if the two concepts are interchangeable or if they refer to different processes. Bandura and Walters⁷ claim that both terms apply to the same behaviour, it is just that 'observational learning is generally labelled imitation in experimental psychology and identification in theories of personality'. Other theorists would make a clear distinction between imitation of particular acts of a model in specific circumstances, and general identification with him or her.

In the latter case one would have 'a hypothesized process, accounting for the child's imitation of a model's complex, integrated patterns of behaviour - rather than discrete reactions or simple response - emitted spontaneously without specific training or direct reward for emulation'.⁸ Such behaviour, based on close attachment to the model, is relatively immune to external factors, and unlike imitative modelling persists despite the model's subsequent absence or the application or withholding of rewards or punishments.⁹

But even in making a distinction between imitation and identification it would be accepted that there is a close relationship between the two. Imitation can lead to emotional involvement with a model and so to identification, for a 'greater degree of involvement would allow for the operation of unconscious factors'.¹⁰ This definition would however only be satisfactory as long as the 'operation of unconscious factors' was not taken to rule out conscious imitation, or 'emitted spontaneously' understood as meaning that an effort of will was never required. For in identification

generally, as in the marriage relationship, there is a place for both at all stages. Sometimes one person's concern for the other overflows effortlessly, at another time it will be a matter of determined adherence. Conscious factors may predominate at the beginning of a relationship and later become integrated into the unconscious, but occasions of tiredness, stress or conflict within or between partners or with third parties may make acts of will necessary at any point. In a similar way identifications with people embodying guiding ideals or exemplifying particular social rôles need sustaining at times by a reaffirmation of one's decision to follow them rather than others.

For this reason the definition of identification given above should be corrected and amplified in its empathetic component by some such as the following. In the emotional involvement which 'distinguishes identification from mere imitation... a person believes himself to be like another in some respects, experiences the other's successes and defeats as his own and consciously or unconsciously models his own behaviour after him'.¹¹ Two things should be noted about this second definition. Firstly, the imitation - identification sequence has been reversed. It is now suggested that identification precedes imitation. But this does not have to be taken as a direct contradiction as it can easily be understood that when imitation of a model in some respects turns to a fuller identification, imitation in other respects ensues. Another way of putting this is to discard the imitation-identification distinction in favour of one between different types of identification. Thus 'positional',¹² identification with the rôles or expectations of a teacher qua teacher may be carefully distinguished from 'personal' identification with the qualities of the teacher as an individual, only for it then to be said that the former may well lead to the latter.

Secondly, the conscious and unconscious modelling that results may have different motivations. In the former case a person may adopt the model's attributes and behaviour because he wants to have these attributes and command the same goals as the model does. In the latter case he may feel identified with the model because they share certain attributes (or because he has been told that they do) and so experience the model's reactions vicariously.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the relationship between imitation and identification and the associated conscious and unconscious factors is far from simple. Observation of the connection between the two is no explanation of what happens when identification results or an answer to the question why one model is rejected, another imitated in one particular, while a third is wholeheartedly identified with. Studies in the related areas of reference group theory,¹³ rôle theory¹⁴ and vocational psychology¹⁵ are at the same stage. Much early work has been dismissed as merely anecdotal, while simple theories have been discarded in the face of the complexity of the relevant material. The postulating of explanatory hypotheses takes second place to the charting of the varied evidence. Patterns imposed on the latter are increasingly being recognised for what they are and seen more as tentative but hopefully illuminating perspectives of the historian, rather than immutable conclusions of the 'objective' scientist (if he ever existed).

Yet while 'imitation' and 'identification' may have to be used as descriptive rather than explanatory umbrella concepts,¹⁶ it is as wrong to claim too little for them as to claim too much. Three things should be remembered. Firstly, the extensive use of these terms bears witness to the ubiquity of imitative behaviour in human society. It is not a rare or

trivial occurrence. Secondly, the concept of identification 'cannot be overlooked by any comprehensive approach to moral development' since it has 'drawn attention to the importance of being "able to put oneself in another's place" ... an important factor in the development of altruism and unselfishness'.¹⁷ Thirdly, however limited a particular interpretation may prove to be, it reflects an aspect of the complex human experience of imitation and also affects the climate of scholarly and eventually of popular thinking in which any future interpretation will live or die. That climate largely resulted from the pioneering work of Freud, so due consideration must first be given to his work in order to set the scene for later developments.

FREUD AND IDENTIFICATION

Apart from his¹⁸ primal horde myth in which the sons are supposed to have killed and eaten their father and so 'accomplished their identification with him, and each one of them acquired a portion of his strength',¹⁹ Freud discussed identification mainly although not exclusively in the context of a child's identifications with his parents in the formative first five or six years of his life. Freud's usage of the term is 'by no means clear or wholly consistent', but he 'views identification in all its forms as largely if not wholly unconscious'.²⁰

The concept was first proposed in Mourning and Melancholia²¹ which deals with the phenomenon of depressed persons criticising themselves instead of the person with whom a relationship has just been broken. But as such an identification of the ego with a lost love-object presupposes rather than explains the establishment of the critical faculty of the ego, this paper must be passed over in favour of the treatment given in Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego.²² According to this, children begin life with

love for their mother and a 'primary identification' with the same-sex parent. Yet while a boy is developing an identification with his father and 'would like to grow like him and be like him and take his place everywhere',²³ he is at the same time wishing to have an object-relationship with his mother, wishing to possess her rather than to be like her. So he becomes jealous and fearful of his father but eventually resolves this 'Oedipal' conflict he cannot hope to win by giving up his wish and identifying more closely with his father. In this way he hopes to avoid punishment and maintain something of a relationship with his mother through his father. But the identification with his father has changed for it is now an ambivalent combination of love and hate, with the latter predominating. Freud considered that these oedipal feelings lay dormant in a latency period which lasted from about age five to the onset of puberty at about age twelve. It was then essential for the adolescent to 'devote himself to the great task of detaching himself from his parents',²⁴ - from love of his mother and the hatred or domination of his father - for the non-achievement of this detachment was the root of neuroticism.

With a girl the love and hate resulting from a combination of pre-oedipal affection for her mother with oedipal hostility is more evenly balanced. Her object-relation to her father and secondary identification with her mother may be accompanied by identification with her father. Her identification is motivated by fear of loss of love rather than fear of punishment, so, in Freud's view, her superego is likely to be less severe than a boy's.²⁵

Freud modified his position in The Ego and the Id²⁶ in admitting that it would be safer to say that primary identifications were made by boys and girls with both parents 'for before a child has arrived at definite knowledge of the difference between the sexes ... it does not distinguish in

value between its father and its mother'.²⁷ He also wrote of the 'complete Oedipus complex' which produced some degree of identification with both parents and some degree of ambivalence towards them in both boys and girls, depending on 'the relative strength of the masculine and feminine sexual disposition',²⁸ of each individual. In either case the meaning of such identification is that 'the authority of the father or the parents is introjected into the ego and there forms the ~~kernel~~ of the superego'.²⁹

As Graham notes,³⁰ it is parental teaching or teaching-style rather than parental example which is introjected, and Freud made it clear in New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis³¹ that the child's superego is based upon identification with that of the parent, rather than upon their actual behaviour. So 'The contents which fill it are the same and become the vehicle of tradition and of all the time-resisting judgments of value which have propagated themselves in this manner from generation to generation'.³² Not that there is no room for novelty. Freud wrote of 'ego identifications',³³ based on admiration and respect, which contribute to the development of character. These may be private models particular to the individual (such as friends or teachers) or models incorporated into what is called the 'community superego'. For 'The superego of any epoch of civilization has an origin similar to that of an individual. It is based on the impression left behind by the personalities of great leaders - men of overwhelming force of mind, or men in whom one of the human impulses has found its strongest and purest, therefore often its most ~~one-sided~~ expression'.³⁴

Yet there are limits to what admiration and respect can achieve and Freud did not seem aware of any motivating force of greater power. He said of the cultural superego that it 'issues a command and does not ask whether it is possible for people to obey it'.³⁵ Indeed it mistakenly 'assumes

that a man's ego is psychologically capable of anything that is requested of it, that his ego has unlimited mastery over his id.' This is not so, and if the demand is too great it produces revolt, neurosis or unhappiness. So in Freud's view, although its command to 'love thy neighbour as thyself' is 'the strongest defence against human aggressiveness',³⁶ it is 'impossible to fulfil, such an enormous inflation of love can only lower its value, not get rid of the difficulty.'³⁷ Altruistic love is foreign to his thinking. People must be worthy of love and as love gives value to the person loved it would be wrong to love everyone equally. The command should be altered to 'love thy neighbour as thy neighbour loves thee'.³⁸

Thus the influence of models is very secondary to the place held by a child's identifications with his parents in determining the basic nature of his superego, how far he has one and 'whether it is relatively tolerant or relatively severe or exacting'. As Graham concludes,³⁹ adding that 'It is important to realise that the crucial thing is not the prohibitions or injunctions which are internalized, but the development of the capacity for internalizing prohibitions and injunctions, and the way in which this is done'.

Freud also mentioned examples of identification outside the child-parent relationship. There is narcissistic identification⁴⁰ - an extension of self-love to include others who have the same characteristics or possessions as oneself. This is part of what is involved in belonging to a group, although Freud also saw another mechanism at work there. Members of a group may identify with each other so as to be able to share the satisfaction of relationship to the group's leader. For this identification controls the envy and hostility which naturally arises as each member would prefer to have the leader all to himself.⁴¹

There is also identification in which vicarious satisfaction is taken in another's achievement. A mother may escape the problems of marriage or divorce in identifying with her children.⁴² Girls who want lovers may have hysterics in sympathy with a girl who has a fit on getting a letter from her own sweetheart.⁴³

But these are tangential to Freud's basic treatment of identification in the resolution of the Oedipal Complex and his claim that this is of primary significance. The question that has to be faced is therefore: How much does research support Freudian theory on this point?

Two recent assessments come to similar conclusions. Kline - who regards Freudian theory 'as a collection of propositions full of insights about behaviour of which some, not by virtue of psychoanalytic methodology, rather despite it are correct, by virtue of Freud's genius for observation and deduction'⁴⁴ - makes two points.⁴⁵

1. Research has been hampered by the assumption that all forms of imitation and identification are the same.⁴⁶ Yet as there are no significant positive correlations observed between the variables of sex-rôle behaviour, self-control and socially acceptable forms of aggression, adult attitudes and conduct, resistance to deviation and feelings of guilt if transgressions occur, it is 'unlikely that they are all simply the result of one simple process of identification'.⁴⁷ Indeed, it must be asked if there is any such process, for the observation of similarities between the behaviour of two people is no proof of causal links or indication of the working of a particular mechanism.

2. Nevertheless, having made these qualifications, Kline feels able to decide that 'There is relatively little support for the Freudian claim that loss of love or fear of aggression are the important variables. From this it follows that other models than the parent will be important sources

of identification whereas in psychoanalytic theory this parental identification is of crucial importance',⁴⁸ although insofar as parental identification is significant research supports the general principle that there is a positive correlation with love rather than fear.⁴⁹

Fisher and Greenberg⁵⁰ agree with these findings. Identification is a complex process. The influence of siblings, peer groups and other transmitters of cultural stereotypes must be taken into account. There may be some truth in Piaget's linking of identification to cognitive development. Attempts to verify Oedipal theory by assessing the relative effects of discipline through punishment, as opposed to discipline through the withdrawal of love, may have to make more allowances for norms and expectations varying with social class. The only evidence which seemed unequivocally to support Freud's Oedipal identificatory pattern was that of oedipal hostility to the same sex parent and attraction to the other. But this was reported from retrospective studies with adults and not shown from work with young children.

POST-FREUDIAN DEVELOPMENTS

Not all theorists follow Freud in his use of the term identification for the introjection of parental standards. Sanford,⁵¹ for instance, distinguishes between the two and limits the former to describe an essentially unrealistic process whereby feelings of insecurity at a time of crisis may be allayed by unconscious imitation of another's behaviour in fantasy or reality. Yet in the main Freud's work has been used as the foundation for other theories which may be divided between those broadly based on his understanding of the boy's resolution of the Oedipal conflict which stress the fear element of identification, and those which follow his treatment of the girl's course through the same stage in emphasising love.

Thus distinctions have been made between identification theories of the 'developmental' or 'anaclitic' kind which link up with the more rewarding parent, and the psychoanalytic 'defensive' type which stress the part played by the more frustrating parent.

As it stands, this apparently useful distinction has to be treated with caution when it is remembered that either parent may give rewards and punishments. It is also difficult to see how the absence of a reward is different from a punishment when the basis of developmental identification is defined as fear of loss of love (Mowrer), for the withdrawal of love is often experienced as a punishment and can certainly be consciously used to that end.

In this respect it may be noted that psychologists have generally followed Freud in taking a negative view of love insofar as they have focussed on the effects of its absence and actual or threatened withdrawal, rather than the motivational potential of its presence. Likewise pathological states of conscience, false guilt and unnecessary anxiety⁵³ have been of more interest than normal examples of each, while aggression has attracted more attention than sympathy.⁵⁴

FEAR-INSPIRED IDENTIFICATION

The classic presentation of this position was given by Anna Freud in The Ego and the mechanisms of Defence⁵⁵ which explored various reactions to threatening situations which have meanings opposite to the ones most obviously to be concluded from casual observation. In this work 'identification with the aggressor' is called a 'by no means uncommon stage in the normal development of the superego'⁵⁶ - although the rest of her exposition would seem to imply that it is an essential and universal phenomenon - in which children identify with an authoritative, prohibiting parent. This

defence mechanism is accompanied at first by another, the projection of guilt on to other people. But this is normally a transitory stage on the way towards 'true morality' which only 'begins when the internalized criticism ... coincides with the ego's perception of its own fault'.⁵⁷ Some people, however, may not complete the process, so 'although perceiving their own guilt, they continue to be peculiarly aggressive in their attitude to other people'.⁵⁸

Thus the theory attracted attention as a possible explanation of the adult behaviour of anti-semitic Jews⁵⁹ and of concentration camp prisoners who identified with the values and actions of their guards.⁶⁰ Yet, as has been pointed out,⁶¹ the evidence is open to alternative explanations and in the latter case the theory does not encompass all of it. The hypothesis that the prisoners acted as they did to reduce their anxiety fails to account for the fact that they were punished for imitating their guards in wearing rudimentary uniforms.

How much empirical support is there for the general theory of 'identification with the aggressor'? Assessments vary from 'some'⁶² to 'none'.⁶³ A more cautious conclusion is that there are some striking examples of defensive identification, but no general proof and some disproof,⁶⁴ which is similar to the view that as most, although not all, of the evidence is against fear-inspired identification, it is for those who continue to uphold the theory to prove it. 'This does not rule out the possibility that some males acquire identity out of fear but ... this is not ... average or normal.'⁶⁵

Another negative emotion which has inspired a theory of identification is envy. Whiting⁶⁶ suggests that 'status envy' of another's more efficient control and use of resources leads to indulgence in anxiety-reducing imitative rôle-play. A distinction may be attempted between a

wish to share the parents' ability to enjoy resources and a wish to have their powers of controlling and disposing such things (which like the concentration camp situation described above may be better covered by 'social power' theory),⁶⁷ but this does not demonstrate that envy was operative in the first case.

It must be added that there seems to be little evidence that variations in parental social power influence the strength of conscience or identification with one parent rather than the other, although the explanation may simply be that all parents are so powerful relative to children' that such variations have little importance in the family, although power-based modelling does occur in other situations.⁶⁸

While identification based on fear or envy may not be a normal or frequent occurrence, when it does take place it is likely to have certain characteristics. The individual concerned will have a negative or immature conscience⁶⁹ which stresses obedience, self-sacrifice, duty and resignation towards all authority figures. These include God, who may be seen (to some degree) as a wrathful being who is placated only by the substitutionary death of his son, and who expects continual suffering and feelings of guilt in his followers.⁷⁰

On the other hand if identity is acquired through love, the individual can have a positive or mature conscience which operates from internal principles - adult sentiments, self-chosen goals and a continually productive relationship between himself and the surrounding world - rather than external constraints. In this situation it may be said that 'goodness is not obedience but growth towards perfection, and perfection is complete self-fulfilment',⁷¹ and that the believer identifies with Christ out of love and trust rather than through fear of punishment.

The contrast between these two approaches is overdrawn, as there is no necessary opposition between goodness and obedience and no reason why obedience and self-sacrifice cannot be motivated by love, 'If you love me, you will keep my commandments' (Jn 14.15). For internalized principles have external origins, and, as has been noted before,⁷² there are times of stress when love can only be maintained by action of the will.

Nevertheless, there is a distinction to be made between these approaches analogous to that between authoritarian and authoritative outlooks on life.⁷³ In the first case the ruling factor is the psychological need to seek safety in unquestioning obedience to absolute external authority in circumstances of personal insecurity or social upheaval. In the second case the question is not 'Is there any answer?', but 'Is the answer offered, true?'

The juxtaposition of fear and love motivated identification allows for a transition from the first, which summarises Freud's outlook, to the second, which is more in keeping with that of the neo-Freudian E.H. Erikson.

ERIKSON

Although Erikson⁷⁴ does not abandon Freud's basic insights into the importance of a child's formative years, he understands the Oedipal stage as just one in a life-long sequence which must all be successfully mastered in order to proceed to the next. The mastery of each stage is marked by the emergence of a 'basic virtue' - hope, willpower, purpose, competence, fidelity, care and wisdom⁷⁵ - and Erikson's positive (although not blinkered) outlook on human nature extends to his treatment of identification and religion. His theory is significant as an attempt to unify understanding of all influences - family and social - on identity formation and to extend it to cover 'the eight ages of man',⁷⁶ rather than stop at adolescence as

most psychologists do. Erikson puts more stress than Freud on the place of society in forming character in a longer period which terminates with the resolution of the adolescent's identity crisis. Social institutions also have an important role in safeguarding this achievement, for:

Infantile conflicts become creative only if sustained by the firm support of cultural institutions and of the special leader-class representing them. In order to approach or experience integrity, the individual must know how to be a follower of image bearers in religion and politics, in the economic order and in technology, in aristocratic living and in the arts and sciences.⁷⁷

Furthermore

...only this three-fold anchoring of a given world image in facts and figures cognitively perceived and logically arranged, in experiences emotionally confirmed, and in a social life cooperatively affirmed, will provide a reality that seems self-evident.⁷⁸

Yet the individual can be a leader as well as a follower.

Identity is more than adaptation to culture, while even a relation to culture does not forbid a radical detachment from the status quo. For one thing, man is a teaching and instituting animal as well as a learning one. This teaching stage - between the achievement of adulthood and the onset of old age - is admitted to be central and to include the invigorating and making of tradition as well as its transmission.⁷⁹

Secondly, identity can be derived from a group other than the one to which one physically belongs. An individual may outgrow the group he began in and take on a new identity, though he may share it with very few people who do not even live in the same era; as Gandhi did in his relationship to India and Jesus of Nazareth.⁸⁰ This is only an extension of the general principle that identity formation is not the sum-total of childhood identifications, but a selective and continuous process:

...earlier crystallisations of identity can become subject to renewed conflict when changes in the quality and quantity of drive, expansions in mental equipment, and new and often conflicting social demands all make previous adjustments appear insufficient, and in fact, make previous opportunities and rewards suspect.⁸¹

Erikson's stages⁸² of the crises of identity v. rôle confusion, intimacy v. isolation, generativity v. stagnation, and ego integrity v. despair, map the progression of the establishment of identity from adolescence onwards in relation to wider and wider issues, although he realises that it is not necessary that ultimate questions be reserved for old age.

This integrity crisis, last in the lives of ordinary men, is a life-long and chronic crisis in the homo religiosus ... the question of how to escape corruption in living and how to give meaning to life ... This short-cut between the youthful crisis of identity and the mature one of integrity makes the religionist's problem of individual identity the same as the problem of existential identity.⁸³

What such identity might mean is hinted at in a comment on the earliest Christians:

Death, fully accepted, became the highest identity on earth, superceding the need for smaller identities ... unhistorically, unhierarchically, and unconditionally, they treated as of no substance or avail the Jewish identity of patriarchal law, the Roman identity of world citizenship, and the Greek identity of body-mind harmony.⁸⁴

These definitions understand religious identity positively, but it is possible for it to be negative if 'wholeness' is replaced by 'totality'.⁸⁵ That is to say, a partial, fixed, unintegrated, arbitrary world view is taken as representing the whole. This may happen at any stage which is not mastered - in which case a regression is made to the alternative positions of mistrust, shame and doubt, guilt, inferiority, rôle confusion, isolation, stagnation or despair, - although it is most likely to occur at the end of childhood when the quest for identity, direction and boundaries are strongest and the attraction of an ideology most obvious.⁸⁶

In practical terms such a totality might involve the individual in separation from society or self in opting out of social relations or obligations, or by trying to deal with guilt, shame and anxiety by ignoring them. Yet these are extreme examples and it cannot be said that Erikson wishes totalism per se to be dismissed as pathological.

It would be wise to abstain from considering this a merely regressive or infantile mechanism. It is an alternate, if more primitive, way of dealing with experience, and thus has, at least in transitory states, a certain adjustment and survival value. It belongs to normal psychology.⁸⁷

Although the ideal remains that 'any new identity must develop the courage of its relativities and the freedom of its unconscious resources; which includes facing the anxiety aroused by both'.⁸⁸

It will be noted that Erikson contrasted the ordinary man with the homo religiosus. This is significant not just as a statement of fact that the latter is relatively rare, but as a pointer to his concern that people with specific unconditional identities may attempt to make others accept them. This runs counter to his view that the 'well-established identity' which alone is able to 'tolerate radical change, ... has arranged itself around basic values which cultures have in common',⁸⁹ although a certain amount of ambivalence may be observed in his thought. Not all particular identities are suspect. For while he regrets the illusion of 'pseudospeciation' in which

...far from perceiving or accepting a human identity based on a common specieshood, different tribes and nations, creeds and classes ... consider themselves to be the one chosen species and will, especially in times of crisis, sacrifice to this claim much of the knowledge, the logic, and the ethics that are theirs,⁹⁰

he recognises that it has also produced 'those more universal civilisations and, with them, the networks of communication on which a wider human consciousness will depend'.⁹¹

In this Erikson seems close to those who think that outstanding individuals are more admirable than imitable, and agree with the specific judgment that

Jesus was not an average level-headed man, such as parents of a daughter would welcome as a son-in-law. He was an off-centre, minority type, along with such men as the Hebrew prophets before him or William Blake or Søren Kierkegaard in times nearer our own. Such men are 'the salt of the earth', not our staple diet. It would not be good for everyone to aim, in simple general terms, at being 'like Jesus'.⁹²

The relationship between the gifted or the unusual individual and the community is, however, less central to Erikson's work than his treatment of identity formation and the alternatives of wholeness and totality. A similar approach⁹³ suggests that there are four states involved in identity formation. A 'moratorium', in which commitments and values are tested but not yet resolved, can be brief or extended. At one extreme there is the 'identity foreclosed'² state in which the parental offer of identity is accepted without much searching or any crisis. The alternative is to prolong the moratorium in an 'identity-diffused' state (characterised by a feeling of not fitting in anywhere) until the stage of 'identity-achieved' is finally reached. Once again, just as totality is not necessarily pathological, the foreclosed^e identity is not necessarily deficient, although it may be. As Helfaer⁹⁴ points out in his discussion of 'precocious identity formation', there are certain consequences of having one's religious identity fixed at an early age and reaffirmed rather than reorganised at adolescence.

On one hand, the internalization of values universally held in a small community may lead to a relatively simple and therefore inflexible identity which has no place for internal doubt or the assimilation of new experience.⁹⁵ 'In some way, feelings and events arising from an inner or

outer source are not strongly experienced and are not allowed to really impinge upon the personality core which contains the basic religious belief system'.⁹⁶ In addition, the development of imagination and the capacity to love may be affected,⁹⁷ while leaving the conservative sub-culture for the wider world can cause crises of insecurity which may come to include religious doubt and the feeling of God's absence.⁹⁸

In Helfaer's view the totalism of the 'precocious identity' is accompanied by theological 'absoluteness' and 'externalization', by which he means that absolute dichotomies are made between this world and the next, between the power and goodness of God and Jesus and the finitude and evil of man, while religious relevance is located outside rather than within man.⁹⁹

Conversely, theological 'relativity' and 'internalization' are aspects of the unf^erclosed identity, which has advantages

...in the greater possibility of an enrichment in the sense of self and identity and the potentially greater range of psychic contents open to being and experienced as acceptable aspects of the self. In addition, along with the relativity of religious conceptions, it tends to ameliorate man's vulnerability to the sense of alienation, estrangement, abandonment...¹⁰⁰

Yet doubt is a real possibility for the 'liberal believer' also, if

...his belief system institutionalises a superego so punitive that the belief system itself does not protect the individual from internally originating persecution, self-punishment, and harsh self-judgment.¹⁰¹

In this situation he seems to have nowhere to go and be in a less hopeful position than his conservative brother, whose fo^erclosed identity can deal with doubt and even turn out to be open-ended if it includes the seeking of God's will. For although 'Doing God's will externalises certain aspects of decision-making', and internal and external cues '- feelings, abilities, successes, failures, inclinations; whatever -

are not internalized and used in the service of fuller definition of the self ... the attitude of doing God's will usually includes being open to perceiving God's will'.¹⁰²

So

This attitude of openness to God leaves the individual open to his own preconscious self and internally originating cues for action and decision. Also, while the self may not, in one sense, achieve fuller definition, through action the internally experienced relationship with God may be deepened and enriched.¹⁰³

But a warning is necessary, for 'Major aspects of the self as active agent remain externalised' and the degree to which they do so is significant. It is one thing that

The individual is thereby partly relieved of anxieties attendant upon the sense of the self as an active agent responsible for its own fate [in that] trust in God and His purpose helps release anxiety about success and failure and the future in general.¹⁰⁴

It is quite another for this to reach the stage where 'Extensive passivity within the personality may also be rationalized through the relinquishment of ones own will to God'.¹⁰⁵

It is not intended that Erikson's system be taken as the correct model for understanding man, for insofar as it is based on Freud's theoretical formulations it merits the same distinction being made between theory and insight. Thus there is much to be said for the criticism that

...the child's emotional development cannot be adequately conceptualised by an exclusive libido model, [and when] the prototypes derived from libido theory are translated into interpersonal terms they still do not constitute adequate models for development.¹⁰⁶

This White holds to be true of all stages, but it is particularly so in the 'intimacy v. isolation' stage of young adulthood which is dominated by the heterosexual I-Thou model. This sublimation of the ego may extend to the realms of artistic inspiration, creativity and play, but not to that

other major concern of young adulthood, competence in work. White is not objecting to the application of psychosexual theory to some aspects of human life, but he is denying that it can encompass everything. From a comment made at the end of his discussion of the next stage, Erikson would seem to be moving towards this point of view, but the reader is left in the air.

If this was a book on adulthood, it would be indispensable and profitable at this point to compare economic and psychological theories ... and to proceed to a discussion of man's relationship to his production as well as to his progeny.¹⁰⁷

The same criticism of pseudo-universality applies to any theory of personality which attempts to explain the whole in terms of a conceptual framework based on a part. The fact that life is a mixture of the given or determined and the chosen, the individual and the social, suggests that any adequate formulation must be a synthesis of different approaches. But before turning to consider this conclusion, something must be said of the thought of one of the most famous dissenters from Freud's position, C.G. Jung.

JUNG

Jung's¹⁰⁸ thought ranged widely from the psychological to the philosophical and the mystical, and so is impatient of systematic analysis, yet he had a number of insights pertinent to the idea of imitation. He differed from Freud in his understanding of the unconscious mind. In Jung's view it could include the forgotten or neglected good as well as evil. It had a race or collective element which was more significant than the individual. The symbolism was not only sexual but related to several archetypes. One of these archetypes was Christ, and in this context Jung discussed the imitatio Christi, beginning with a question.

Are we to understand the 'imitation of Christ' in the sense that we should copy his life ... or in the deeper sense that we are to live our own proper lives as truly as he lived his in its individual uniqueness?¹⁰⁹

In other words, should we take it 'as the duty to realise one's own deepest convictions with the same courage and the same self-sacrifice shown by Jesus'?¹¹⁰

Self-realisation or 'individuation',¹¹¹ although a 'task ... imposed on us by nature',¹¹² is not easy, warned Jung.

Anyone who did this would run counter to the conditions of his own history and though he might thus be fulfilling them, he would none the less be misjudged, derided, tortured and crucified'.¹¹³

Crucified truly, although not necessarily literally, as will be seen shortly.

Thus

...it is not altogether inconvenient to renounce one's own meaning. Had Jesus done so he would probably have become a respectable carpenter and not a religious rebel to whom the same thing would naturally happen today as happened then'.¹¹⁴

On the other hand it is only neurotic egoism for modern man to dismiss imitation of Christ out of hand because 'he rebels against the force of tradition that would hold him to well trodden ways' and 'behaves as if his own individual life was God's special will which must be fulfilled at all costs'.¹¹⁵ This is a mistaken attitude in Jung's view because individuals are not isolated units. For the psyche has not only a conscious part, but also an unconscious one which

...in its deeper layers is of a collective nature; it cannot be distinguished from that of another individual. As a result, it continually creates that ubiquitous participation mystique which is the unity of many, the one man in all men'.¹¹⁶

So, 'Since the life of Christ is archetypal to a high degree', (which is a particular instance of the fact that 'every individual life is at the same time the eternal life of the species'),¹¹⁷ 'What happens in

the life of Christ happens always and everywhere. In the Christian archetype all lives of this kind are prefigured and are expressed over and over again or once and for all'.¹¹⁸

There is some uncertainty here whether Christ is the archetype for everyone or only for certain people, which should be joined to a second question. Does Jung believe in one archetype (partially instanced by archetypal individuals), or in several? Yet his apparently arbitrary switch from singular to plural may be irrelevant if it is remembered that 'archetypes are not determined as regards their content, but only as regards their form',¹¹⁹ which is 'irrepresentable, unconscious, pre-existent'.¹²⁰ Jung also said that 'To the symbols of wholeness that come to him from there' (the unconscious), man 'attaches names which vary according to time and place'.¹²¹

Thus Jung would seem to hold that Christ is the archetype of wholeness only for those who recognise him as such in 'a conscious^{ness} illuminated by conversation'.¹²² He is 'an exemplar who dwells in every Christian as his integral personality',¹²³ while the destiny of others is to be pagans or Jews,¹²⁴ or to follow Buddha's way to self-realisation.¹²⁵

It is important to note that Jung is concerned with archetypes of wholeness rather than archetypes of perfection.¹²⁶ There is a difference and it is important, for taking an archetype as the latter makes having the right conscious aims the only focus of attention. But if self-realisation is conceptualised as wholeness or completeness, evil and all other, even morally praiseworthy, elements of the personality at variance with conscious attitudes may be recognised as belonging to the self.¹²⁷ As Jung summarises the alternatives, 'The individual may strive after perfection ... but must suffer for the opposite of his intentions for the sake of his completeness'.¹²⁸

The bringing to consciousness of such conflicts is a crucifixion in two senses: firstly, in the recognition of the tension of opposites within the individual,¹²⁹ and secondly, in the outcome, which Jung describes as the 'relative abolition of the ego' in 'supreme and ultimate decisions' involving 'insoluble conflicts of duty' where it has to give way to 'the genius of man, the higher and more spacious part of him whose extent no one knows'.¹³⁰

There is room here to understand that this refers to the work of Christ in the unconscious of the believer, but however apt that interpretation may be for theological reasons, it is not what Jung himself meant. For he interpreted imitatio Christi in suffering, or in the Mass, as symbolic parallels rather than events causally connected with Him, despite quoting Galatians 2.20¹³¹ and speaking of union with Christ and the transformation of the believer.¹³²

It is true that he held that man 'cannot conquer the tremendous polarity of his nature with his own resources',¹³³ but he saw the way out of this problem in the impersonal deterministic process of individuation. This apparently just happens to man.¹³⁴ Christ's sacrifice was something 'imposed upon him from within',¹³⁵ so his suffering of it is an example of the general principle that one should embrace one's destiny rather than ignore it.¹³⁶

Thus it would seem that Jung's Christ is descended from Kant (as the incarnation of a principle already known in man's heart) and Hegel or Nietzsche (as the man who embraces his fate). Yet his speculations are valuable for raising the question of how much imitatio Christi can be seen as self-realisation. In particular, in his distinction between perfection and completeness, he points out the significance of the picture one has of Christ as a model. There is always the danger that a docetic outlook will

result in the repression of much of the personality, for even if the 'Christ-symbol' is not a totality, 'Anything that a man postulates as being a greater totality than himself can become a symbol of the self'.¹³⁷

For Jung, self-realisation involves suffering. Is this a valid conclusion or a bias from some personal unhappiness? Rather than attempting to analyse his life, an answer will be sought to this question by examining the view of one of the most optimistic psychologists in the humanist tradition, A.H. Maslow.

MASLOW

Maslow's¹³⁸ starting point and direction are summarised in the following two statements, from which it will be gathered that he much preferred Jung to Freud, although he saw no need for Christ to be projected as a 'symbol of the self'.

Every age but ours has had its model, its ideal. All of these have been given up by our culture; the saint, the hero, the gentleman, the knight, the mystic. About all we have left is the well-adjusted man without problems, a very pale and doubtful substitute. Perhaps we shall soon be able to use as our guide and model the fully growing and self-fulfilling human-being, the one whose inner nature expresses itself freely, rather than being warped, suppressed, or denied.¹³⁹

The key concepts in the newer dynamic psychology are spontaneity, release, naturalness, self-choice, self-acceptance, impulse-awareness, gratification of basic needs. They used to be control, inhibition, discipline, training, shaping, on the principle that the depths of human nature were dangerous, evil, predatory and ravenous'.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the idea of human nature held affects ideas of society, law education and the family.

In one case they are restraining and controlling forces; in the other they are gratifying and fulfilling. Of course this is an oversimple, either-or contrast. It is unlikely that either conception is totally correct or totally incorrect. Yet the contrast of ideal types is useful in sharpening our perceptions.¹⁴¹

What, then, would Maslow have said about the imitatio Christi? From these two quotations it would appear that he would probably have rejected any ascetic interpretation. Yet his dismissal of the 'well-adjusted man without problems' (What is the point of being well-adjusted to a sick society?) suggests that there should be more substance in his preferred model, 'the fully growing and self-fulfilling human-being' This is indeed the case, for having admitted that he had over-simplified his argument to make his point, Maslow qualified it as he developed it.

He recognised that some controls were necessary in order for people to live in the real world and allow others as much freedom as they would like for themselves. There is real frustration, pain and anger for which there must be some preparation in childhood experience. There can be the real guilt¹⁴² of not reaching one's own standards, as opposed to the false guilt of not keeping other people's. For there are real problems.

Even though he [the self-actualised person] has transcended the problems of Becoming, there remain the problems of Being. To be untroubled when one should be troubled can be a sign of sickness. Sometimes smug people have to be scared into their wits!¹⁴³

But even the problems can be useful.

States of failure, of hopelessness, of despair, of collapse of defences, acute failure of value system, acute confrontation with real guilt, can force perceptions of truth and reality ... in some instances where there is enough strength and courage.¹⁴⁴

This last quotation reminds one of what William James felt bound to admit about asceticism, although his sympathies were with mysticism. There was a point to the spirit (although not to the practical excesses) of the former, in that it recognised 'an element of real wrongness in this world which must be squarely met and overcome by an appeal to the soul's resources, and cleansed away by suffering'.¹⁴⁵ So, too, it would seem that Maslow saw a place for asceticism. But only for some people, as he

stated, in words reminiscent of Erikson's about the crisis of integrity for the homo religiosus.

The goal of identity (self-actualisation, autonomy, individuation etc) seems to be simultaneously an end-goal in itself, and also a transitional goal, a rite of passage, a step along the path to the transcendence of identity

and it seems

as if the best path to this goal for most people is via achieving identity, a strong real self, and via basic-need-gratification rather than via asceticism,¹⁴⁶

which tends, at least in the West,

to produce a diminished, stunted or crippled organism, and even in the East, bring self-actualisation to only a very few, exceptionally strong individuals.¹⁴⁷

Maslow himself did not go further than this, but certain lines of thought suggest themselves. If asceticism 'works' with the 'few, exceptionally strong individuals', it may be that their strength is not only physiological, but psychical, based on self-acceptance. This self-acceptance presumably presupposes controls other than those 'necessarily implied by the belief in basic, instinctive evil in the human depths' which Maslow linked with 'asceticism, self-denial' and 'deliberate rejection of the demands of the organism'.¹⁴⁸ It would seem at least worth considering whether basic-need-gratification and asceticism can both move towards transcendence of identity in a similar way.

Basic-need-gratification belongs to one half of the motivational process which Maslow saw operating in man. On one hand there is 'deficiency motivation' (to reduce tension or anxiety as with Freud's equilibrium theory of motivation), on the other hand there is 'growth motivation' (to achieve basic-need-gratification and self-actualisation). There is a tension between the two which can be seen as the tension between safety and growth, or between the need to know and the fear of knowing.¹⁴⁹ In general,

'Assured safety permits higher needs and impulses to emerge and to grow towards mastery. To endanger safety, means regression backwards to the more basic foundation.'¹⁵⁰

Man has an 'hierarchy of basic needs',¹⁵¹ each of which begins to emerge as the previous one becomes relatively satisfied (to a different degree as the percentages given in brackets suggest). So, as the 'physiological needs' become satisfied (eventually possibly 85%), man seeks to realise his 'safety needs' (70%) for security, stability, dependency, protection, freedom from anxiety and chaos, law, limits, structure (as in science, philosophy, or religion). Then emerge the 'belongingness and love needs' (50%), followed by the 'esteem needs' (40%); for strength, achievement, adequacy, independence and freedom, also deserved reputation or prestige which leads to feelings of self-confidence and strength. Finally, the hierarchy is topped by the need for 'self-actualisation' (10%): what a man can be, he must be.

There are two kinds of people who are an exception to this pattern. The bored, for whom achievement at one level does not result in aspiration to a higher one, and the creative, who actualise themselves in spite of the lack of basic satisfactions. Maslow observed that

higher needs may occasionally emerge, not after gratification, but rather after forced or voluntary deprivation, renunciation or suppression of lower basic needs and gratifications (asceticism, sublimation, strengthening effects of rejection, discipline, persecution, isolation, etc).¹⁵²

This may be described, although not explained, as 'increased frustration-tolerance' in which holders of ideals have a defence against regression in times of decreased basic-need-gratification. Aspects of the person can become independent of the gratification that created them. It is not quite clear whether Maslow was thinking in terms of an ideal 'pulling'

from the front, or of a gratification 'pushing' from behind; but perhaps he meant that the effectiveness of the former was contingent on the latter. For it seems that the reason he gave: 'It is just the ones who have loved and been well loved, and who have had many deep friendships who can hold out against hatred, rejection or persecution',¹⁵³ is to be interpreted as meaning that such gratifications, especially those gained in childhood, become interiorised. For that would only be a positive re-statement of Freudian theory about the formation of the superego.

However, Maslow recognised that important gratifications were not restricted to childhood, for he thought that character structure could be changed by other experiences, both the repetitive and the unique,¹⁵⁴ including mystical or 'Peak experiences' which may have positive integration effects of permanent significance.¹⁵⁵ The general consequence of basic-need-gratification is a change of interests and values, for, in Maslow's view, a satisfied need is no longer motivational. Thus satisfaction leads to the underestimating or devaluing of the satisfiers of the need and the strength of the need. Similarly, the possible satisfiers of the remaining needs are overvalued.

So a person with his belonging and love needs (relatively) satisfied is most concerned to gain self-esteem, even at the cost of previous achievements at the physiological, safety and love-need levels, at least temporarily. This also leads him to see people and situations in the light of his need to acquire esteem so his perception and love is motivated by this need for this deficiency to be made up. Thus Maslow spoke of 'D -cognition' and 'D -love'. In contrast, a person with all his basic needs gratified is not so limited and can see people and situations as they are, without reference to himself. In this state there is Being or 'B -cognition' and 'B -love', ego-transcendence and problem

centering rather than ego centering.¹⁵⁶ So 'rubricising',¹⁵⁷ in attention, perception, learning and thinking is avoided as there is a clear awareness of the 'other', unclouded by previous personal or second-hand classifications, or by present personal needs, hopes or fears.

There are advantages in achieving this state to a certain degree, in being open to things as they are, but 'is-ness' taken to its extreme, as Maslow recognised,¹⁵⁸ replaces ethical value by aesthetic value, and encourages fatalism and irresponsibility. Although he was aware of the problems, Maslow did not arrive at any convincing position in the realm of values. Although he did not deny altruism as Freud did, he only became less cynical in becoming less realistic. For the only place where he considered altruism would work was a humanist utopia where the conflict between selfishness and unselfishness was transcended in that conditions were such that what was good for the particular individual was good for everyone else.

Maslow was quite aware of what he was doing, as he admitted that:

All of the qualities that we call moral and humanistic and good - the kindness, altruism, unselfishness, kindness, helping each other, etc - all depend upon a rich good world.¹⁵⁹

One can only suppose that when he was writing in the mid 1960's prosperous American society seemed in continual progress towards such a goal. Likewise, the plurality of beliefs in that society made another aspect of his model human beings self-evident. They were strongly although idiosyncratically moral in that they had a highly developed sense of what was right and wrong for them. This rejection of any kind of objective external authority in favour of the subjective 'uncovering',¹⁶⁰ of human values under the optimum conditions of the good society was accompanied by a limited concept of evil. Although Maslow felt that it was too deeply embedded in society to be completely eradicated, he thought that gradual progress could

be made to reduce it,¹⁶¹ as in his definition it was almost completely confined to ignorance, stupidity, and the pressures of society on man's weak instincts for self-fulfilment.¹⁶² But even then no way of maintaining or pursuing values under adverse conditions was suggested, apart from the transcendence of the environment in the freedom of the inner world of the psyche.¹⁶³ As an observer, Maslow could only record that 'in some instances ... there is enough strength and courage'¹⁶⁴ for this to be done.

In conclusion then, it must be said that Maslow's 'guide and model the fully growing and self-fulfilling human-being'¹⁶⁵ (insofar as he has ever existed more than transitorily)¹⁶⁶ suffers from the illusion of 'every man a general', even though Maslow maintained that self-actualising people 'are, without a single exception, involved in something outside of themselves'. Yet this is only an apparent paradox for he went on to say that 'They are working at something which fate has called them to',¹⁶⁷ and this can be a totally individualistic goal. Maslow realised that he had not begun to tackle the 'real, deep, and possibly unsolvable problems of the relationship between identity and community'.¹⁶⁸ What he might have decided on this issue can only be guessed at, but his work taken as it stands shows the weakness inherent in making an extreme contrast between the two.

However, if the limitations of Maslow's approach to values and to the individual and society prevent his theories being accepted in toto, there are positive aspects of his thought which bear remembering. He suggested a model of human growth which stressed the uniqueness of the individual, an hierarchy of basic needs emphasising love and identity in various forms -an hierarchy which must either be followed or transcended, and a dynamic relationship between need gratification, perception and action. The stress on the aesthetic, the creative and the enjoyable has

something to say about relationships between man and man, and man and God. Even the recognition of the good through feelings of subjective delight under certain conditions could find a place if those conditions were to be expressed in terms of grace and eschatology, but that must await treatment in its proper place. Before that some thought must be given to the place of the imitation of models in one particular aspect of human life, the ethical, only then will it be possible to draw together general conclusions about the relationship of the individual to tradition.

2 - ETHICAL ISSUES

ETHICS AND IMITATION

Concern with imitation can be traced throughout the history of ethical thought and it has been understood in a number of different ways.¹⁶⁹ The imitation of nature has been espoused right from classical times until the early twentieth century. Unfortunately for those who sought an objective guide to action, it has turned out that nature is no more than a mirror, reflecting as a cardinal value what each thinker has projected upon it. Thus

On its testimony, Aristotle preaches contemplation, Epicurus pleasure, Epictetus asceticism, Hobbes calculation, Rousseau compassion, Guyau enthusiasm, Nietzsche hate, Bergson love.¹⁷⁰

So, in a sense, it is not man that imitates nature, but nature that imitates man;¹⁷¹ just as Oscar Wilde argued in reversing the traditional view that art imitates nature. For, 'The artist provides a kind of education of the imagination and senses; so that we perceive in nature what art has prepared us to see'.¹⁷²

A second approach, based on the conclusion that values are found in man rather than nature, would be through the imitation of oneself, as in Spinoza's ethics.¹⁷³ However, Spinoza's rational man lacked personality and emotions to such an extent (and his God even more so) that it is difficult to see how this model for ethical action can be applied to man as he actually is. For Spinoza's 'imitation of oneself' seems to apply only to the 'primitive and essential self', and allow no progress towards an 'ultimate self'.¹⁷⁴ Yet if such static concepts of the self are to be used, it would seem that its dynamic nature requires the description of five elements. A basic three, 'The primitive and essential self, subject

of action, the ultimate self, aim of action, the current self, agent of action',¹⁷⁵ supplemented by the primitive self as an agent of action, and the current self as the subject of further action.¹⁷⁶ So Gobry concludes that this demonstrates that any model must not only be transcendent to nature, but also to the self and the personality.¹⁷⁷

A third way of looking at imitation in ethics is through the imitation of value revealed in a person and thus known not intellectually, but emotionally and intuitively.¹⁷⁸ The problem is that one does not want a model for each value, but one model which will hold them all together in a complementary rather than reductionist manner.¹⁷⁹ Which is the supreme value? It is goodness, for imitating the good affects the whole person permanently, unlike the imitation of any of the other values which is partial and transitory.¹⁸⁰ The good is the source of all the values.¹⁸¹ The good is will.¹⁸² In fact, the good is God, who has the unity, absoluteness and personality which is lacking in the values and makes them unfit to be models.¹⁸³ This brings one to the fourth possibility, imitation of God, or insofar as it is believed that 'No one has ever seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known' (Jn. 1.18), to the imitation of Christ.

Yet for the sake of those who do not write or think as Catholic philosophers, a pause must be made here to consider a position which has had lasting influence on non-Catholic philosophical ethics, psychology and theology; that is, the position of Immanuel Kant. Gobry treats the strictly ethical issues, but is not concerned with the other implications of Kant's outlook which must now be outlined. In this way it may be seen why the movement from imitation of value to imitation of God or Christ is not a foregone conclusion for everyone. It may also be seen that opposition to imitatio Christi can have roots which are ultimately more philosophical

than theological.

KANTIAN CRITICISM

Imitation of God as an ethical aim runs up against Kant's objection that although there is a correspondence¹⁸⁴ between man's aim ('holiness' ... 'complete fitness to the moral law',¹⁸⁵ and consequently 'the possession of the highest good ... happiness in proportion to morality')¹⁸⁶ and God's nature (as he 'contains the ground of the exact coincidence of happiness with morality'),¹⁸⁷ there is no further connection between the two allowing for imitation. For God does not belong to the realm of experience, he is only a 'postulate of pure practical reason ... a theoretical proposition which is not as such demonstrable, but which is an inseparable corollary of an a priori unconditionally valid practical law'.¹⁸⁸

This law, 'So act that the maxim of your will could always hold at the same time as the principle of a universal legislation',¹⁸⁹ was based on duty rather than love, for Kant considered that the command to love God and one's neighbour, which 'like every moral prescription of the Gospel presents the moral disposition in its complete perfection', could only be approached in this way. For no one 'could ever reach the stage of thoroughly liking to do all moral laws'. So 'ready willingness' would be a shaky foundation for morality,¹⁹⁰ although not only for this reason. There were other perils of subjectivity. If people were to be exhorted to imitate some noble deed, 'they come to think that these actions are expected of them not because of duty but only because of their own bare merit'.¹⁹¹ This Kant considered a matter of pathological incentives of sympathy or self-love, and a failure to fulfil the spirit of the law which 'lies in the submissive disposition and not in the merely lawful character of the act'.¹⁹² In short,

Imitation has no place in moral matters, and examples serve only for encouragement. That is, they put beyond question the practicability of what the law commands, and they make visible that which the practical rule expresses more generally. But they can never justify our guiding ourselves by examples and our setting-aside their true original which lies in reason.¹⁹³

The key sentence in the above quotation is the last one, for if the 'true original which lies in reason' were to be followed, Kant would allow imitation both a place and a power of its own, for

It is our universal duty as men to elevate ourselves to this ideal of moral perfection, that is, to this archetype of the moral disposition in all its purity - and for this the idea itself, which reason presents to us for our zealous emulation, can give us power.¹⁹⁴

Although it is not clear if Kant is saying anything more than 'we can do it because our reason acknowledges it as its law and says that we ought to do it',¹⁹⁵ this principle is important. For Kant it means that we 'lift ourselves altogether out of the world of sense', for the moral law is 'an incentive of a faculty which rules over the sensibility', admittedly 'not always effectively', but practice brings progress.¹⁹⁶

This state of affairs is to be contrasted with Kant's judgment on the influence of examples.

All feelings, and especially those which produce unusual exertions, must produce their effect in the moment when they are at their height and before they subside, else they have no effect at all. This is due to the fact that the heart naturally returns to its natural and moderate behaviour and soon falls back into its previous languor because it has been brought into contact with something which stimulated it, not with something that strengthened it. Principles must be erected on concepts; on any other foundation only passing moods can be achieved which give the person no moral worth and not even confidence in himself, without which the consciousness of his moral disposition and character, the highest good in man, cannot arise.¹⁹⁷

The central claim here is that 'the heart ... soon falls back into its previous languor because it has been brought into contact with something which stimulated it, not with something that strengthened it'. This

assertion is clearly questionable on empirical grounds, (Do all examples stimulate without strengthening?), but it is even more significant as an expression of one of two opposing views of the self held alike in psychology, philosophy and theology. It is partly a matter of activity or passivity, the Leibnitzian or Lockean tradition as Allport would say,¹⁹⁸ but more fundamentally a question of continuity or discontinuity in the personality. Kant, Barth, Bultmann, and existentialists generally may be taken to hold the latter view, in that

The self in its action is a free self undetermined by its phenomenal history, facing an imperative or a command of God, an open present and future; and acting out of this freedom to determine the future.

The alternative view

The self in its action expresses the personal history that it has accumulated through its past experiences and associations¹⁹⁹

is supported by the psychological theories discussed in the last section. While Maslow's outlook might be thought equivocal, he does belong to this school of thought in that his safety-growth schema is asymmetrically biased towards the former. In other words, growth is normally possible only when the personality is not being threatened by the loss of some satisfaction of its basic needs. There are exceptions to this rule, so Maslow shows that the two views of the self given above are too abstract and polarised to be complete accounts of reality. Some median position is desirable. Yet if a choice had to be made between the two, the Kantian or existential position would have to be rejected on psychological, ethical and theological grounds, although the theological problems of taking the alternative outlook could not be ignored. This conclusion will be supported in its place, meanwhile Kant's own thought must be followed further.

A second consequence of Kant's location of the 'true original' is, quite naturally, rejection of the imitatio Christi, accompanied by preference

for another Gospel text (Mt. 19.19).

Even the Holy One of the Gospel must be compared with our ideal of moral perfection before He is recognised as such; even He says of Himself, "Why call ye Me (Whom you see) good? None is good (the archetype of the good) except God only (Whom you do not see.) "But whence do we have the concept of God as highest good? Solely from the idea of moral perfection which reason formulates a priori and which it inseparably connects with the concept of a free will.²⁰⁰

Furthermore, even if it could be shown that the contingent exemplified the universal, as all men have this idea of moral perfection, any specific incarnation of it would be superfluous.²⁰¹ On the other hand such an incarnation would run the risk of being too godlike to be an example for man, and his influence would be restricted to evoking admiration, love, and gratitude for his condescension. His behaviour could only set a standard, not be a pattern for imitation or 'proof of the feasibility and attainability for us of so pure and exalted a moral goodness'.²⁰²

Thus it would seem that Kant's Christ would have the double misfortune of being both an unnecessary example and an insufficiently encouraging one, although the latter problem was dodged by another necessary postulate of pure practical reason, immortality, in which man would make infinite progress to moral perfection.²⁰³ Meanwhile, right intention would be accepted by God in this life, although intention was not to be a substitute for action.²⁰⁴

There is no need to comment on Kant's difficulty with a Christ who is nothing more than a moral ideal, but any consideration of the imitatio Christi starting from traditional theology of incarnation and redemption must take account of three problems which he raises. The first is to decide whether an ethic of duty is to be preferred to, and is irreconcilable with, an ethic of love. For if this is the case, there would seem to be no place for imitation. The second point at issue is Kant's statement

'Even the Holy One of the Gospel must be compared with our ideal of moral perfection before He is recognised as such'. The third, is to take note of the observation that to approach morality through imitation, that is, through response to external stimuli, risks being fragmentary, inconsistent, and self-satisfied. It must be asked how true this is, and whether it can be avoided.

LOVE AND DUTY

If it is granted that the effects of love are not necessarily as transitory as Kant supposed, what other support can be suggested for an ethic of love as opposed to an ethic of duty? Although Anglo-Saxon philosophical ethics had traditionally stressed duty, in more recent years there has been growing support for an ethic of virtue.²⁰⁵ For it has been recognised that the two approaches are complementary,²⁰⁶ since moral obligation and love both involve perception and commitment.²⁰⁷ So, while it used to be asserted that love is a necessary but superior adjunct to duty, in that it is 'a whole state of mind, cognitive, conative and affective, which is the outcome of a sentiment built into character' which 'by intensive insight extends and deepens the context of duty to be done',²⁰⁸ it is now claimed that both love and duty require the same thing, for there is an obligation to be morally perceptive and morally tenacious.²⁰⁹

Moral perceptivity involves sensitivity to the feelings, needs, and potential reactions of the person who has a moral claim on us, an empathy which should precede and control our action. However, for the perception to be moral and not distorted by empathy, there must also be 'a positive affection for being an ideal moral judge'.²¹⁰ Or, to put it another way, the need for impartiality demands love for God as well as love for neighbours. From this comes the meeting of the second requirement,

for love of the good, combined with love of doing good and love of conscientiousness, is a response to the general obligation to improve the moral life of man as a whole.

Is then, there nothing to be said for distinguishing between an ethic of duty and an ethic of love? There does seem to be one difference that cannot be eliminated by re-definition. Even if it be argued that both involve perception and commitment, that both involve the whole person as subject, or even that (contrary to popular thought) it is false to say that duty applies to the impersonal and love to the personal as object, one basic distinction between the two remains. Or, if it is held not to be a distinction, it must be held to be a problem. The essential difference between duty and love is that the requirements of the former are finite, while those of the latter are infinite. Thus it is possible to say that one has done one's duty, but one could not (and would not wish to) assert that love's claims had been met. For to do so would be to destroy part of the meaning of 'love's claims'.

This distinction is not being upheld in order to prove such a concept of duty to be ethically inferior since it could provoke an attitude of complacency or pride. For the claim to have done one's duty may also be made in the spirit of 'we are unprofitable servants, we have merely done our duty'. No, the distinction is made because of the problem which arises if it is minimised by asserting that the claims of both are, if not infinite, at least sufficiently above an individual's capacity to make no practical difference. For then the question arises, if not for the moral agent qua moral agent, certainly for the moral agent qua human being: what is the context and meaning of failing to meet the requirements of duty or of love?

Here the crucial distinction between an ethic of duty and an ethic of love is revealed, for it is only in the latter that (as in any love relationship) that there can be freedom to fail,²¹¹ freedom to accept forgiveness, freedom to accept or love oneself.²¹² For although the claims of love may be very similar to the claim of duty, and it would be wrong to say that the New Testament espouses a 'love ethic' as opposed to an 'obedience ethic',²¹³ the former allows, as the latter does not, that a person is not defined by his matching up to certain requirements. It is very easy to lose sight of this truth, but it is essential not to. For to forget it is to turn towards moralism and legalism, and also, if to any kind of imitatio Christi, to the fear-inspired identification whose characteristics have already been outlined.

Thus it is necessary to think of ethics in terms of love rather than duty, but this conclusion does not dispose of Kant's second objection that it is not morally justifiable to allow or pursue even a love-identification on the grounds of the model's natural power of attraction.

MODELS AND IDEALS

Kant's assertion that even Christ must be measured by one's ideal of moral perfection before he can be recognised as such prompts the question: Where does the ideal come from? If his own answer is not found acceptable, it is not necessary to divorce the two, or to reject revelation for reason. Instead, it may be argued that

There is a hermeneutic circle here: Christ interprets for the Christian the meaning of authentic humanity or mature manhood, but he is acknowledged as the Christ or the paradigm of humanity because men have interpreted him as such in the light of an idea of authentic humanity that they already bring to him and that they have derived from their own participation in human existence. No doubt the Christian finds that his idea of authentic humanity is enlarged, corrected, and perhaps even revolutionised by the concrete humanity of Christ, yet unless he had some such idea, it is hard to see how Christ could ever become Christ for him.²¹⁴

The above statement belongs more to the realm of theology than ethics, but it can be approached from the philosophical side, as may be seen in the thought of Karl Jaspers, which makes some allowance for novelty in human life. If Kant's Christ showed men what they all knew all the time, Jasper's Christ had the more significant function of making men reconsider whether they knew all that there was to know or do.

For Jaspers, the four 'paradigmatic individuals', Socrates, Buddha, Confucius and Jesus, each in their own and complementary way - as 'for philosophy they are men' and 'because they are historical they cannot have universal validity for all',²¹⁵ -

...break through the customary, through what had hitherto been taken for granted, and through the merely intelligible. They create new possibilities and a new area populated with beginnings that are never carried to completion.²¹⁶

This stems from their 'experience of the fundamental human situation' and 'discovery of the human task In so doing they arrive at extreme questions to which they give answers'.²¹⁷ The way they give answers is important. Some questions are 'answered' by being ignored as inappropriate.²¹⁸ Otherwise, 'They speak in parables, dialectical contradictions, conversational replies: they do not fixate. They indicate what is to be done, but in such a way that it cannot be directly understood through any technique of instrumentality, still less as a program for a new world order'.²¹⁹

The last point in the above quotation was significant for Jaspers as far as the imitation of Christ was concerned, as he understood Jesus to be calling for a 'devotion to God's will that rules out the world',²²⁰ as his 'imperatives assume that man no longer has any finite situation in the world, or mission to shape and fulfil the world'.²²¹ This is the 'limitation',²²² on Jesus' example of freedom, truth and courage in transcending the world's finite rewards or punishments through faith in God, which also meant that 'his own being was open to the world, his eye was alive to all

realities, and particularly to the souls of men'.²²³

So although Jaspers admitted that where 'true imitation ... actually occurs it commands respect', he felt that generally speaking the content and forms of Jesus' life and thought are closed to us, unless we 'make a decision and draw the consequences without which everything remains a pretence'.²²⁴ However, there is an alternative. The paradigmatic individuals can be seen as 'beacons by which to gain an orientation, not models to imitate',²²⁵ 'an orientation by Jesus is possible without imitation'.²²⁶

Thus general lessons can be learned. 'In the crucifixion the fundamental reality

of the eternal is embodied in time. In the traditional symbol of the cross, man gained certainty of the authentic amid the failure of everything that is world.'²²⁷

Jesus 'showed how a man could become free from the fear inherent in life by taking

...his cross upon himself. His message teaches men to keep their eyes open for absolute evil in the world and forbids complacency; it reminds men of the existence of a higher authority.'²²⁸

In short, 'What Jesus demands is a mode of being, not an outward action, which merely follows from the being'.²²⁹

The last statement shows that 'imitation' and 'orientation' are not necessarily exclusive alternatives, and it should be noted that Jaspers rejected imitation on practical rather than theoretical grounds. Examples were permissible in ethics for him, although they still had to be judged, but on the basis of man's evolving common sense rather than any a priori idea of moral perfection. The individual is also a judge each time he decides which model to orientate himself by, and in which particular in a given situation,²³⁰ although the first part such a procedure would seem to imply a rejection of Jaspers' conclusion 'What Jesus demands is a mode of

being'.

The four 'paradigmatic individuals' may be said to have acquired their authority through acceptance by millions of people over many centuries; but what grounds may be suggested for testing the validity of other lesser-known models proposed for imitation, if the question of whether or not they proclaim the single value of doing one's duty is regarded as too narrow a guide?

Gobry suggests that the answer is not to be found simply in intuitive perception of the value a model incarnates,²³¹ and here (with Augustine's reasons for loving St. Paul)²³² he would apply Kant's general principle that models other than Christ are to be judged on that criterion, but on the basis of an assessment of the consistency of their teaching and action. Thus certain types of false models may be recognised and avoided.²³³ These include those who do not do what they teach, or who only partially carry out their precepts in certain respects or in certain situations. Then there are those who show they lack humility by proclaiming their own behaviour, or demonstrates that they lack honesty by proclaiming only some of it. On the other hand there is the false humility of those who have no moral will or power and only appear to be good because they avoid meeting problems. All such simulators of virtue, Gobry concludes,²³⁴ reveal themselves by a lack of conviction, spontaneity, serenity, and unity of personality.

Clearly, the imitation of such models would result in a transmission and reproduction of their faults, but Kant went further than this in suggesting that imitation of any model was likely to produce the same unsatisfactory effects. This assertion must now be examined.

IMITATION AND INTEGRITY

The conclusion just reached, that a lack of consistency between the life and the teaching of a model reveals itself in all aspects of the personality, applies, mutatis mutandis, in the relation between model and would-be imitator, not only in instances of conscious simulation, but also on the unconscious level, if the latter refuses to be himself and chooses the wrong type of model or one at the wrong level.²³⁵ An example of the first alternative would be Leo Tolstoi, who, in taking an absolutist view of the requirements of the Sermon on the Mount (although his chief concern was the call to non violence of Mt. 5.39),²³⁶ is reputed to have repeatedly said: 'Without my wife, without my children, I could live a holy life'.²³⁷ Words which he matched with actions by abandoning his family and estate a few days before he died.

The second approach, choosing a model on the wrong level, stems from confusing effects with causes and so wishing to do what someone else does without having become what they have become. This is a common mistake of enthusiastic converts, not least among them being Ignatius Loyola who wished to imitate and even surpass the penances of the saints.²³⁸ Charles de Foucauld was cast in the same mould.

Focussing on exterior actions rather than interior dispositions can also be ethically and psychologically questionable if it results in an arbitrary selection of actions to copy. It is likely to make one self-centred rather than self-forgetful in one of two ways. There can be unwarranted self-satisfaction in having imitated the ideal actions, which may simply have reinforced one aspect of one's personality. That is to say, one's behaviour may be ethically unsatisfactory in being divorced from one's motive or the requirements of the situation. It may also be psychologically unsatisfactory in that it springs from a dominant but not necessarily

integrated aspect of thought or feeling. For, under stress, there is a simulated integration in which 'A man will tend, when his self is yet fragmented, to retreat into his most powerful component'.²³⁹

The second possibility is that what has just been described comes to consciousness, so that self-satisfaction is replaced by a crushing sense of self-alienation or feeling of 'lack of conviction, spontaneity, serenity, and unity of personality'. When the retreat is abandoned the fragmentation may be recognized for what it is. Thus the novelist Scott Fitzgerald felt he had to leave his usual environment for a time because he needed absolute quiet to think out why he had 'developed a sad attitude towards sadness, a melancholy attitude towards melancholy and a tragic attitude towards tragedy',²⁴⁰ that is to say, had become identified with the objects of his horror or compassion. When he did so, he concluded that 'there was not an 'I' any more - not a basis on which I could organise my self-respect',²⁴¹ the reason being that for up to twenty years ad hoc use of disparate models had done duty for his intellectual, artistic and social consciences.²⁴²

No doubt Scott Fitzgerald's problem also had something to do with the feeling that artists get when their creative output overflows too fast for it to be integrated in a continuous self, but this additional factor is not inconsistent with the general picture of fragmentation, a picture neatly summed up in the observation that 'we are bewildered by excessive awareness and by the multiplicity of the selves within us'.²⁴³ For it is as if the person is a fixed flat mirror which receives each and every impression which comes within its range without any selection or organisation, instead of being a mobile focussing mirror which discriminates and makes sense of both inner and outer experience.

This making sense of inner and outer experience is important not only for psychological health, but also for ethics, since 'The moral life is not simply a matter of decision governed by publicly defensible principles and rules, we can only act in the world we see, a seeing partially determined by the kind of beings we have become through the stories we have learned and embodied in our life plan'.²⁴⁴ These stories and the principles enshrined in them give coherence to life, which also in its turn becomes a story. A story whose degree of continuity is a matter of relative success in continuous interpretation of the past being matched with assessment of the present and projection towards the future.²⁴⁵

One must speak of 'relative success' in the achievement and maintenance of identity in this way, for even if it is natural to interpret the past ^{continually} and aim to act in a manner consistent with this understanding, there may be intractable obstacles to such integration. Not only may the unfolding present reveal novelties which have no apparent connection with one's past or projections based on it, but elements of that past may prove difficult or impossible to correlate with the present. That is to say, there could be matters of inner or outer chaos or conflict, of personality problems or social upheavals, which have no recognisable meaning or place in any pattern. However, it may also be true that the lack of integration stems from the fact that such experiences do not fit into a particular pattern, which although dominant in the subject's thinking, is unrealistic or too restrictive.

However, since another name for a normative pattern is 'tradition', and because the problem of 'imitation' is really part of the familiar question of the relationship between the individual and tradition, this discussion will be concluded under that heading.

3 - CONCLUSION: THE INDIVIDUAL AND TRADITION

If the survey of psychological and ethical aspects of imitation has made one general point, it is that an individual's identity stems from his relation to other people. Such relationships may be with specific individuals or with groups, at particularly significant periods of life or at any time during it, and through first hand experience or by way of the traditions they have handed down or transformed. One way of expressing this conclusion would be to say that 'Our ideas and beliefs have been taught to us and the variations which we make for ourselves are relatively minor embroideries upon themes not of our devising'.²⁴⁶ But a more positive presentation of the dynamic relation possible between the two is the assertion that 'the greater the person's awareness of himself, the more he can acquire the wisdom of his fathers to make it his'. Conversely, 'the more profoundly he can confront and experience the accumulated wealth in historical tradition, the more uniquely he can at the same time know and be himself'.²⁴⁷

Thus it is not the fact of the individual's relation to tradition that is at issue, but the nature of that relationship. The question has been much debated, not only in the social sciences, but also in the realm of the arts. 'Imitation in art' is a vast topic, mostly of little relevance to the present study, but there are useful insights to be found in the eighteenth century neo-classical defence of it. For there are parallels to be drawn both on the general principle of imitation of a model, and on the question of a model's adequacy as a guide to reality.

If it may be summarised very briefly, the English Neo-Classicals²⁴⁸ defended the practice of imitation in art on the grounds that the tradition was to be valued for having stood the test of time, and for having preserved

the principles which 'many artists have spent their whole lives in ascertaining'.²⁴⁹ An imitator, as opposed to a plagiarist, would carefully study the principles underlying a particular work, and, building on what had already been achieved, seek to apply them in a new circumstances of the day. For even if the subject matter of art had not changed, there could be originality in the treatment of it.

No better summary of their outlook could be given than these comments from Edward Young's Conjectures on Original Composition (1749)

He that admires not the ancient authors betrays a secret he would conceal, and tells the world that he does not understand them. Let us be as far from neglecting, as from copying their admirable compositions.... Let our understanding feed on theirs ... but let them nourish, not annihilate, our own ... He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer; but he who takes the same method that Homer took.... drink where he drank... at the breast of Nature. Imitate; but imitate not the composition, but the man. For may not this paradox pass into a maxim? viz. "The less we copy the renowned ancients, we shall resemble them the more".²⁵⁰

This quotation may be seen as support for the idea of imitation as a living relationship with tradition from a somewhat unexpected source, but it is more significant for pointing out a problem which must be faced. For mention of drinking with Homer 'at the breast of Nature' reminds one that the purpose of art was understood as that of imitating nature, and that classical models were followed as short-cuts to that end. Consequently it was a serious question whether the tradition was a reliable guide, or whether the artist would do better to observe nature directly. For the basic aim was imitation of the universal order of things in nature, so as to reflect truths which were valid in all times and places.

There thus arose two classes of theory, although it will be seen that the difference between them is more apparent than real. One, implying that art can never surpass nature, called for the imitation of nature as it

actually was. The other, advocating the imitation of nature as it 'ought to be' (Aristotle: Poetics 1460b) when purified from imperfections and particularities, maintained that art - La Belle Nature in the eighteenth century phrase - surpasses nature.

Such purification could be achieved by selection on the artist's own initiative, following the reliable choices of a classical model, or by combining the choices of several classical models. A further level of abstraction provided for the imitation of an idea which, though 'originated in nature, supersedes its origin and becomes the origin of art'.²⁵¹ To do this, 'a painter must raise his ideas beyond what he sees and form a model of perfection in his own mind which is not to be found in reality'.²⁵²

Two observations may be made here: firstly, that the problem of abstraction which is so obvious at this stage exists in varying degrees at the others, and even in the first class of theory, for that too requires some selection, and secondly, that the same degree of abstraction to the point of distortion is to be found in a wider field. Not only may this take place in an individual's relation to tradition generally, but it is particularly liable to happen with a person's relation to religious tradition, as the following two examples illustrate.

It has already been noted that an individual may choose a model from the tradition that is inappropriate to his situation and so be divorced from his own reality through it. But it would also be possible to choose a model which corresponded to his situation, but was still unsatisfactory since it was an abstraction from reality. So, for example, someone trying to come to a degree of self-understanding and integration of his own religious and other experience, might be misled by searching for links with a model who was portrayed in a spiritual biography or autobiography as for all intents and purposes only having religious experiences.

What, for instance, is to be made of the autobiography of Suso,²⁵³ which has been described in the following terms?

His life is an example of God's will; and though he describes as historical events the stages of his spiritual growth, they appear more as exemplary devices than as actual occurrences, and have significance chiefly because they may be applied by others There are occasional vivid scenes ... but they are events he withstands, not experiences that enrich or change him. The simplicity of Suso's faith and the single-mindedness of his instructional purpose, which makes his work so important a book of devotion, limits its value as autobiography.²⁵⁴

Surely, one should also ask in what devotional contexts 'events he withstands, not experiences that enrich or change him' are to be valued?

If it is true that in spiritual autobiography 'the intensity of a metaphysical revelation tends to obliterate and devalue other sorts of experience',²⁵⁵ is this a 'danger'? Or are words like 'obliterate' and 'devalue' only used by those who have no eyes to see the true value of religious experience? If there is a real value distinction between the two, is this absolute, or related to the author's inner or outer history and so only imitable in similar circumstances? For it might be concluded that while an author lived at a time of social or economic upheaval, or wrote with a recent convert's sharp awareness of a division between the sacred and the secular, such a distinction would not be justifiable in other situations and should not be treated as a norm to follow.

A third line of approach is to argue that the distinction, although real, has only been absolutised through the conventional form in which the autobiography has been presented, and that notice should be taken of the considerable imaginative skill that has been expended to produce it. However, this kind of reasoning fails to recognise that in the unconscious exercising of his skill the author changes the content of his perception, not just the form.

Selecting, repressing, and interpreting his experience, according himself importance as a Christian soul while denying his importance as a unique personality, he exercises his fantasy by making himself into something very like a fictional character.²⁵⁶

Indeed, but the implications of 'making himself into something like a fictional character' need to be considered further. For characters are not simple transpositions from life, nor fictional characters just those who happen to lack a counterpart, both are abstractions, and it is the kind of abstraction which is significant. For, as Rorty explains and illustrates

...we are different entities as we conceive ourselves enlightened by these various views. Our powers of action are different, our relations to one another, our properties, our characteristic successes and defeats, our conceptions of society's proper structures and freedom will vary with our conceptions as characters, persons, selves, individuals.²⁵⁷

Thus, it is important whether or not an exemplar is portrayed as a passive mirror, and insofar as imitation of the saints is seen as a road to the imitatio Christi, the nature of hagiography can be a very significant influence on the understanding of the latter, and even a major reason for rejecting it. For docetism arising through the mediation of the lives of the saints is just as great a difficulty as that which springs more directly from a mis-reading of the New Testament. In both cases one would be left with a model who was not human enough to identify with. However, this and other more specifically theological problems must be left for discussion in the next couple of chapters.

CHAPTER ONE - NOTES

1 - PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

THEORIES OF IMITATION

1. G.W. Allport, 'The Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology' in Lindzey, G., and Aronson, E., (Eds.), Handbook of Social Psychology, 1 (Cambridge, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1968²), p.24.
2. Ibid., p.32.
3. Ibid.
4. cf., T. Lipps, 'Empathy, Inner Imitation and Sense-Feelings', (1903), in Rader, M., A Modern Book of Aesthetics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960³), pp.374-82.
5. Allport, op.cit., p.32.
6. S.M. Berger and W.W. Lambert, 'Stimulus-Response Theory in Contemporary Social Psychology', in Lindzey, op.cit., pp.139-140.

IMITATION AND IDENTIFICATION

7. A. Bandura and R.H. Walters, Social Learning and Personality Development, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963) p.59; quoted in P. Mussen, 'Early Socialization: Learning and Identification', in Newcomb, T.M., (ed.), New Directions in Psychology, III (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 51-110; p.78.
8. Mussen, op.cit., p.81.
9. L. Kohlberg, 'Moral Development and Identification', in Stevenson, H.W., (ed.), Child Psychology (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1963), p.296.
10. D. Graham, p.81.
11. L.D. DeNike and N. Tiber, 'Neurotic Behaviour', Foundations of Abnormal Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p.355; quoted in S.A. Stauffer, 'Identification Theory and Christian Moral Education', Religious Education 67, 1972, 61.
12. R.F. Winch, Identification and its Familial Determinants (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962).
13. e.g. R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949, 1957), distinguishes between 'role models' who are imitated in only a few roles, and 'reference models' who are generally identified with, but no explanation for the difference or for transition from one to the other is offered.

14. cf., T.R. Sarbin and V.L. Allen, 'Role Theory', in Lindsey and Arnson, op.cit., pp.488-507.
15. cf., J.O. Crites, Vocational Psychology (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969); R.M. Roth, D.B. Hershenson, T. Hilliard; The Psychology of Vocational Development (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970).
16. Graham, op.cit., pp.77-80.
17. Ibid., p.274.

FREUD AND IDENTIFICATION

18. The references to Freud's writings in this section are cited from The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Ed. by J. Strachey, 24 vols. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1948-74), abbreviated as SE.
19. S. Freud, Totem and Taboo, SE xii, 142.
20. Graham, op.cit., Moral Learning and Development (London: Batsford, 1972), p.65; to which book much of the analysis of this section is indebted.
21. SE xiv, 237-58; cf., xvi, 427.
22. SE xviii, 67-143.
23. Ibid., p.105.
24. S. Freud, Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, SE xvi, 337.
25. SE, xix, 178, xxii, 121.
26. SE xix, 3-59.
27. Ibid., p. 3 note.
28. Ibid., p.33.
29. S. Freud, The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex, SE xix, 177.
30. Graham, op.cit., p.37.
31. SE xxii, 5-182.
32. Ibid., p.67.
33. Ibid., p.64.
34. S. Freud, Civilization and its Discontents, SE xxi, 141.

35. Ibid., p. 143.
36. Ibid., p. 102.
37. Ibid., p. 104.
38. Ibid., p. 110.
39. Graham, op.cit., p.42.
40. S. Freud, On Narcissism, SE xiv, 69-102.
41. S. Freud, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, SE xviii, 120.
42. S. Freud, Totem and Taboo, SE xiii, 15.
43. S. Freud, Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, SE xviii, 107.
44. P. Kline, Psychology of Vocational Guidance (London: Batsford, 1975), p. 207.
45. P. Kline, Fact and Fantasy in Freudian Theory (London: Methuen, 1972).
46. Ibid., p. 149.
47. Ibid., p. 140.
48. Ibid., p. 149.
49. Ibid., pp.143, 192.
50. S. Fisher and R.P. Greenberg, The Scientific Credibility of Freud's Theories and Therapy (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977). pp. 206, 404.

POST FREUDIAN DEVELOPMENTS

51. N. Sanford, 'The Dynamics of Identification', Psychological Review 1955, 62, 106-18, quoted in Graham, op. cit., pp.66, 68.
52. Ibid., p.68.
53. But see more balanced approaches in the following works. J.G. McKenzie, Guilt: its Meaning and Significance (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962); E.V. Stein, Guilt: Theory and Therapy (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969); S. Hiltner and K. Meninger (eds), Constructive Aspects of Anxiety (New York: Abingdon Press, 1963); W.E. Oates, Anxiety in Christian Experience (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958); F. Berthold Jnr., The Fear of God (New York: Harpers, 1959).

54. e.g., M. Scheler's phenomenological analysis of The Nature of Sympathy (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954; from the German, 1913, 1948⁵) has inspired little research, cf., the few references in Graham, op.cit., chap. 9.

FEAR-INSPIRED IDENTIFICATION

55. A. Freud, The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence (London: Hogarth Press, 1957).
56. Ibid., p.124.
57. Ibid., p.128.
58. Ibid., p.129.
59. B. Bettelheim, 'Individual and mass behaviour in extreme situations' Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1943) 38, 417-52.
60. I. Sarnoff, Personality Dynamics and Development (London: Wiley, 1962), pp.180-6.
61. P. Kline, Fact and Fantasy in Freudian Theory (London: Methuen, 1972), pp.187ff.
62. A.L. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development (New York: Wiley, 1967), p.366.
63. Kline, op.cit., Note 5c, p.192.
64. Mussen, op.cit., pp.90-94.
65. Fisher and Greenberg, op.cit., pp.404-5.
66. J.M. Whiting, 'Resource Mediation and Learning in Identification' in Iscoe, I., and Stevenson, H.W., Personality Development in Children (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1960), pp.112-126.
67. P.H. Mussen and L. Distler, 'Masculinity, Identification and Father-Son Relationships', Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1959, 59, 350-6; cf., Graham, op.cit., p.71.
68. Kohlberg, op.cit., p.304.
69. The descriptions of immature and mature consciences are from E. Fromm, Man for Himself (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).
70. cf., R.S. Lee, Freud and Christianity (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967) on 'superego religion', chap. 12.
71. Ibid., p.162.

72. cf., supra, p.9 .
73. cf., E. Fromm, The Fear of Freedom (London: Kegan, Paul, 1942).

ERIKSON

74. The following abbreviations refer to the works of E.H. Erikson quoted in this section. CS, Childhood and Society (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965²); DNI, Dimensions of a New Identity (New York: Norton, 1974); IYC, Identity, Youth and Crisis (London: Faber, 1968); IR, Insight and Responsibility (London: Faber, 1966); YML, Young Man Luther (London: Faber, 1959).
75. CS, p. 266; cf., IR, chap. 4.
76. CS, chap. 7.
77. CS, pp. 260-1; cf., IR, pp. 165, 206-7.
78. YML, pp. 247-8.
79. DNI, p. 79.
80. CS, p. 402.
81. IYC, p. 162.
82. CS, chap. 7.
83. YML, pp. 254-5.
84. YML, pp. 173, 175.
85. IYC, pp. 80-1.
86. IYC, pp. 187-8.
87. IR, p. 93.
88. DNI, p. 103.
89. IR, p. 96.
90. DNI, p. 32.
91. Ibid.
92. F. Terry, 'Cross and Sanity', Faith and Freedom, XXV (Autumn 1971), 11. quoted in Robinson, J.A.T., The Human Face of God (London: SCM Press, 1973), pp. 70-1.

93. J.E. Marcia, 'Development and Validation of Ego Identity States', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 3 (1966), 551-9.
94. P.M. Helfaer, The Psychology of Religious Doubt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972).
95. Ibid., pp. 64-5.
96. Ibid., p. 76.
97. Ibid., p. 130.
98. Ibid., pp. 64-5.
99. Ibid., p. 16.
100. Ibid., pp. 26-7.
101. Ibid., p. 265.
102. Ibid., p. 133.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. R.W. White, 'Competence and the Psychosexual Stages of Development', in Jones, M.R., (ed.), Nebraska Symposium on Motivation (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1960) p. 99.
107. Erikson, CS, p. 259. No further synthesis seems to have been attempted, although D.B. Hersenson has outlined a 'Life-stage Vocational Development System ' (Journal of Counseling Psychology 15 (1968) 23-30) which tabulates the many vocational psychology theories relevant to each of Erikson's stages. Perhaps this very tabulation has dissuaded any movement to such a synthesis.

JUNG

108. The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, 18 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957-77) are cited in this section as CW.
109. CW 11, 340.
110. CW 13, 53.
111. CW 9.2, 70.
112. CW 7, 171.

113. CW 11, 340.
114. CW 13, 53.
115. CW 11, 341.
116. CW 11,276-7.
117. cf. CW 11,92-3.
118. CW 11, 89.
119. CW 9.1,79.
120. CW 10,449.
121. CW 11,156.
122. CW 9.2,40.
123. C.G. Jung, Memories, Dreams, Reflections (London:Fontana 1973), p. 310.
124. Ibid., p. 160.
125. Ibid., pp. 309-10.
126. CW 9.2, 68-70.
127. CW 9.2, 266.
128. CW 9.2, 69.
129. CW 13,325; 9.2,70.
130. CW 9.2,45.
131. Memories, Dreams, Reflections, p.242.
132. CW 11,273,221.
133. CW 11,294.
134. CW 9.2,44.
135. Memories, Dreams, Reflections, p.309.
136. CW 9.2,70.
137. CW 11,156.

MASLOW

138. The following abbreviations refer to the works of A.H. Maslow quoted in this section. TPB, Towards a Psychology of Being (New York: Van Nostrand, 1968²); MP, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, 1970²); EM, Eupsychian Management (Illinois: Irwin and Dorsey Press, 1965); FR, The Farther Reaches of Human Nature (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973).
139. TPB, p.5.
140. MP, pp.279-80.
141. Ibid.,
142. EM, pp.197-9.
143. TPB, p.210.
144. FR, p. 132.
145. W. James, The Varieties of Religious Experience 1902 (London: Fontana, 1970) p. 352.
146. TPB, p.114.
147. Ibid., p. 199.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid., chap. 5.
150. Ibid., p.49.
151. MP, p.53.
152. Ibid., p.59.
153. Ibid., p.53.
154. Ibid., pp.63-4.
155. TPB, p.97.
156. Ibid., chap.6.
157. MP, chap.13.
158. TPB, chap. 8.
159. EM, p.116.

- 160. TPB, pp.167-9.
- 161. Ibid., p.196.
- 162. MP, chap.6 and p.257.
- 163. TPB, chap.13.
- 164. FR, p.132; cf., note 5.
- 165. TPB, p.5; cf., note 2.
- 166. Maslow's definition of 'self-actualisation' varied from a stage near the end of life reached by very few people (apparently only half-a-dozen historical figures, MP, pp.150-1; certainly less than 1% of the contemporary adult population, TPB, p.204), to episodes of felt self-integration, related, although not simply, to the degree and frequency of peak experiences enjoyed, TPB, pp.97,123.
- 167. FR, p.45.
- 168. EM, p.195.

2 - ETHICAL ISSUES

ETHICS AND IMITATION

- 169. This summary follows I. Gobry, Le modèle en morale (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962).
- 170. Gobry, op.cit., p.42; cf., pp.2-51.
- 171. Ibid., p.66.
- 172. M. Rader, A Modern Book of Aesthetics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960³) p.5; the extract from Oscar Wilde 'The Decay of Lying', Intentions and the Soul of Man, (1891), is given on pp.20-22.
- 173. Gobry, op.cit., pp.70-81.
- 174. Ibid., p.85.
- 175. Ibid., p.82.
- 176. Ibid., pp.83,84.
- 177. Ibid., p.97.
- 178. N. Hartmann, Ethik (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1949³), p.121; quoted in ibid., p.111; cf., pp.108-115.

- 179. Ibid., p.118.
- 180. Ibid., p.120.
- 181. Ibid., p.124; following Plotinus, Enneades, VI, ix, 1.
- 182. Ibid., p.127; following Plotinus, Enneades, VI, viii, 13,17,21.
- 183. Ibid., p.129.

KANTIAN CRITICISM

- 184. As pointed out by Gobry, op.cit., pp.143f., not necessarily realised by Kant himself.
- 185. I. Kant, Critique of Practical Reason, ed. and trans. by L.W. Beck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), p.225.
- 186. Ibid., p.215.
- 187. Ibid., p.228.
- 188. Ibid., p.226.
- 189. Ibid., p.142.
- 190. Ibid., p.190.
- 191. Ibid., p.191.
- 192. Ibid., p.191; cf., pp.252-6.
- 193. I. Kant, Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals, in Beck, op.cit., p.68f.
- 194. I. Kant, Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone, trans. T.M. Greene and H.H. Hudson (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1934), p.54.
- 195. Kant, Critique., p.256.
- 196. Ibid.
- 197. Ibid., p.254.
- 198. G.W. Allport, Becoming (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), pp.7ff.
- 199. J.M. Gustafson, Christ and the Moral Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p.93.
- 200. Kant, Foundations., p.68.

- 201. Kant, Religion., pp.56ff.
- 202. Ibid., p.58.
- 203. Kant, Critique., pp.225-7.
- 204. Kant, Religion., pp.60f.

LOVE AND DUTY

- 205. cf., P.T. Geach, The Virtues (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- 206. cf., F.S. Carney 'The Virtue - Obligation Controversy', Journal of Religion and Ethics 1 (1973) 5-19; W.K. Frankena 'The Ethics of Love conceived as an Ethics of Virtue', ibid., 21-36.
- 207. A.J. Dyck 'A unified theory of virtue and obligation' ibid., 37-52.
- 208. L.A. Reid 'Creative Morality' (London: Allen and Unwin, 1936)p.142.
- 209. Dyck, op.cit.
- 210. Ibid., p.42.
- 211. Contra bondage to a punitive super-ego; cf., supra, p.26.
- 212. Contra Kant, following the view that love of self and love of others are indivisible. For the debate on this issue cf., R.G. Hazo, The Idea of Love (New York: Praeger, 1967); G. Outka, Agape (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).
- 213. cf. V.P. Furnish, The Love Command in the New Testament, (London: SCM Press, 1973), passim and pp.198-218.

MODELS AND IDEALS

- 214. J. Macquarrie, Three Issues in Ethics (London; SCM Press, 1970), p.85.
- 215. K. Jaspers, The Great Philosophers, I (London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1962), 105.
- 216. Ibid., p.100.
- 217. Ibid., p.105.
- 218. Ibid., p.104.
- 219. Ibid., p.100.

- 220. Ibid.
- 221. Ibid., p.77.
- 222. Ibid., p.103.
- 223. Ibid., p.89.
- 224. Ibid., p.106.
- 225. Ibid., p.105.
- 226. Ibid., p.94.
- 227. Ibid., pp.90f.
- 228. Ibid., p.94.
- 229. Ibid., p. 77.
- 230. cf., A.S. Cua, 'Morality and the paradigmatic individuals', American Philosophical Quarterly, 6.4, (1969) pp.324-9; p.327.
- 231. Gobry, op.cit., pp.243-6, 253-6.
- 232. Augustine, On the Trinity, VIII, ix, 13; quoted in ibid., p.294.
- 233. Gobry, op.cit., chap.X.
- 234. Ibid., pp.333f.

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- 235. Gobry, op.cit., pp.400-406.
- 236. cf., W.S. Kissinger, The Sermon on the Mount: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1975) pp.52-56.
- 237. H.K. McArthur, Understanding the Sermon on the Mount (New York: Harpers, 1960), p.156 note 5. cf., pp.106f.
- 238. cf., Autobiography § 14, quoted in Gobry, op.cit., p.404.
- 239. J.S. Dunne, A Search for God in Time and Memory (London: Sheldon Press, 1975) p.119; cf., discussion of wholeness and totality, supra pp. 23f.
- 240. F. Scott Fitzgerald, The Crack-up (1936). (London: Bodley Head, 1960) p.400.
- 241. Ibid., p.398.
- 242. Ibid.

243. R. Pascal, Design and Truth in Autobiography (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960) p.159.
244. S. Hauerwas 'The Self as Story: Religion and Morality from the Agent's Perspective', Journal of Religion and Ethics, (1973) 73-85, 74.
245. cf., H.L. Harrod, 'Interpreting and Projecting: Two Elements of the Self as Moral Agent', Journal of the American Academy of Religion 41 (1973) 18-29.

3 - CONCLUSION: THE INDIVIDUAL AND TRADITION

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247. R. May, Man's Search for Himself (London: Souvenir Press, 1975) pp. 208f.
248. cf. I. Simon, Neo-Classical Criticism 1660-1800 (London: Arnold, 1971);
J. Sutherland, A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1948);
R. Wittkower, 'Imitation, Eclecticism, and Genius' in E.R. Wasserman (Ed) Aspects of the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965) 143-61.
249. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, I (1969) quoted in Simon, op.cit., p.82.
250. quoted in Ibid., p.80.
251. Bellori (1664), quoted in Wittkower, op.cit., p.148.
252. Richardson Essay on the Theory of Painting (1715), quoted in Ibid.
253. Henry Suso (c1295-1366) German mystic.
254. R. Pascal, Design and Truth in Autobiography (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960) p.25.
255. Ibid., p.98.
256. P.M. Spacks Imagining a Self (London and Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976) p.39.
257. A.O. Rorty 'A Literary Postscript: Characters, persons, selves, individuals' in Rorty (Ed) The Identities of Persons (Berkeley-London: University of California Press, 1976) pp 301-323; p.302.

CHAPTER TWO : IMITATION OF CHRIST

1 - THE NEW TESTAMENT WITNESS

THE PROBLEM

It would be quite understandable if a reader searching the library shelves for comment on the concept of the Christian life as an imitatio Christi were to conclude with Rudolf Bultmann that the New Testament never spoke of it at all,¹ however much was made of the idea subsequently. Even a vague memory of certain Pauline texts on the matter would not receive confirmation or elucidation from most of the surveys of the apostle's theology. Indices to recent periodical literature would also be searched almost in vain. Yet although such silence on a theme 'which has always been the distinguishing characteristic of Christian ethics, spirituality and worship'² would be puzzling, some of the comments a patient reader might eventually unearth could be more so, since they can be construed as proclaiming a positive disinterest in the subject, as opposed to an unaccountable oversight.

Thus, according to Osborn,³ 'the evidence is not as strong as might be expected' for a doctrine of imitation, and the references he quotes are, he considers, an indication of its 'marginal position' in New Testament thought. In the sense that 'There is never any ground for the reduction of discipleship to external imitation. Whenever imitation of God or Christ is commended, it depends entirely on the work of salvation present in the believer',⁴ this is an unremarkable statement which few would wish to challenge. But when 'marginal' is the assessment of the references he quotes, that is indeed curious, considering their scope.

Believers are called to follow the example of God in love to enemies (Mt 5.43ff), in forgiveness of others (Mt 18.23f, Eph 4.32f), in love for brothers (1 Jn 4.7-11) and in holiness of life (1 Pet 1.14-16). Christ's example is to be followed in self-sacrifice and service (Mk 10.45 and Lk 22.26-7). In the fourth gospel the action of footwashing is given as an example and the disciples are to love as Christ has loved (13.15 and 34). While for Paul the divine humility (Phil 2.1-8) and self-giving (2 Cor 8.9) are accompanied by his own example (2 Cor 5.12-15), Christ's example of patient suffering (1 Pet 2.21-5a), of obedience (Heb 12.1-3), and holiness (1 Jn 2.6 and 4.17b), is to be followed. The Christian is to order his life by the example of God in Christ, in love (Rom 5.5 and 8), patience (2 Thess 3.5) and holiness (1 Cor 6.11, 1 Thess 4.3-8).⁵

Although the number of verses quoted is small, none of the attitudes or virtues mentioned are marginal to New Testament thinking. Furthermore, if a person's life were to be directed in these fundamental lines, his character would be formed by them, for they are equally not marginal to the personality. Consequently all his perceptions, judgments and actions would be transformed, not just those that could be correlated with particular actions of Christ.

However, the problem is that in the climate of modern New Testament criticism such attitudes and virtues have largely become emptied of content, partly due to nervousness about the historicity of reports about Jesus, and partly to an existential approach which undervalues history. The second of these is far more significant than the first in two respects. Firstly, in that the risks of linking faith and history will only be accepted if it is realised that the price of avoiding them is too high. A realisation which can only arise if the shortcomings of an existential outlook are recognised. Secondly, in that the effects of such an outlook have been widespread. They can be seen in the fact that little interest is expressed in either the character of Jesus or the character of the believer.⁶ Hence the words of Jesus are emphasised at the expense of his actions,⁷

consequently Jesus' connection with the believer tends to be seen only as a matter of isolated individual obedient responses to commands.⁸ A parallel development is that all the attitudes and virtues enumerated in the New Testament texts quoted above are in practice reduced to two, obedience⁹ and love. The first is obviously without content, the second, despite the rich content that one might consider the New Testament afforded it, is also without any according to Bultmann¹⁰ and those who espouse situation ethics.

Against this background, it is not surprising that 'imitation' is seen as a derivation from 'discipleship', and 'discipleship' is seen solely in terms of 'obedience', or even that 'imitation' is directly transcribed as 'obedience'.¹¹ Nor is it surprising any longer that Osborn came to the conclusion that he did about the position of the idea of 'imitation'. But the question is, if the existential presuppositions are set aside as inadequate (as they already have been on psychological and ethical grounds), what picture does the New Testament give of the imitatio Christi and how significant is it as a concept? What is its relationship to 'discipleship' and 'obedience'? Is there a distinction to be made between imitation of the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith, or between the imitation of Christ and the imitation of God? Finally, what bearing has the idea of the imitation of Paul on these issues?

IMITATION, DISCIPLESHIP AND OBEDIENCE

The basic question to be asked about the relationship between these three themes is that put by Swartley. 'Is imitation to be consistently understood as a sub-point of discipleship which obeys rather than copies another person (Michaelis), or is imitation a broader concept which includes

copying an example, which in turn illumines even the nature of discipleship (Larsson and Oepke)?¹²

On non-theological grounds one would naturally choose the latter interpretation but the exegetical foundations for the first must be explored for two reasons. The first is that Michaelis stands in the dominant existential tradition which would be further strengthened if his interpretation was found to be correct. The second is that as a contributor to the Theologisches Worterbuch he commands great influence, so it is doubly important that the validity of his assessment be considered. However, before coming to his treatment of the Pauline use of μιμεῖσθαι, μιμητής and συμμιμητής, the general New Testament picture of the relationship between 'imitating' and 'following' must be outlined. The two terms have been used interchangeably ever since Augustine¹³ made them synonymous by way of a reference to 1 Pet 2.21 - 'For to this you have been called, because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example (ὑπογραμμον), that you should follow (ἐπακολουθησῆτε) in his steps'. But it must be asked if there is any warrant in the New Testament itself for doing so, apart from that verse and Mk 8.34¹⁴ - '..."If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me"¹⁵.

Schulz, Thysman¹⁶ and Betz¹⁷ argue that the concepts 'follow' and 'imitate' have virtually no connection, not only because the gospels use ἀκολουθεῖν where Paul would use μιμεῖσθαι, but because they spring from completely different world views in the history of religion and are used in different contexts. 'Following' is a religious concept drawn from Jewish thought about disciples following a living rabbi and it is almost invariably¹⁸ applied solely to the historical Jesus and a defined group of disciples. 'Imitation' is an ethical concept from Greek thought more widely applied to God, other people, or the self-emptying of the divine

Christ as the object of imitation, and also referring to all believers rather than to a specific group of disciples.

If there is any connection between the two concepts it is only to be found in two instances. Firstly, in the saying that the disciples when considering their status should note that Jesus came to serve rather than to be served.¹⁹ Secondly, in the later, but similar, Johannine account of the washing of the disciples' feet at the Last Supper.²⁰ The first passage, whether an original word of Jesus or a result of post-Easter editing, is interpreted as meaning only that disciples should be ready for an inevitable sharing of their master's destiny. So while acceptance of such a parallel destiny indirectly assumes having a basic outlook similar to that of Jesus, 'that is not explicit in the text'.²¹

The second passage seems to show a change in the meaning of 'follow' rather than an assimilation of one term by the other. For, since Jesus is about to leave the world, it is no longer possible for the disciples to follow him in the old sense, instead there must now be 'communion with him in faith'. This 'following' implies showing 'brotherly love according to the example of the love of God',²² but, Thysman would argue again, this is implicit rather than explicit in the text.

Since Thysman also,²³ against Schulz,²⁴ considers that 1 Pet 2.21 is not a combination of the ideas of 'following' and 'imitation', but is only concerned with the latter, he is able to maintain that the New Testament uniformly maintains a distinction between the two themes. However, if the gospels show an 'identity of existence, mission and destiny',^{24a} between Jesus and his disciples it is difficult to see how a distinction between implicit and explicit imitation can be sustained. Hence, although Thysman argues his case on exegetical grounds, he admits that in practice, following Christ involves adopting similar attitudes. This is inherent

in the rabbi-disciple relationship, and particularly applicable to Jesus since recognition of him as the Messiah would probably make his disciples consider certain of his acts to be normative.²⁵

This passing comment is rightly developed by De Boer, who observes that 'The idea of imitation is not to be found in the expression "following Jesus", as such. However, this expression portrays a situation in which imitation not only very likely will develop, but where it must develop. The situation would be most abnormal and unreal if it resulted in no measure of imitation',²⁶ not only because it is inevitable in such a close relationship, but because it was a specific element of the rabbinic educational process that there should be no dichotomy between word and action. 'The most mature teachers...incarnated the perfect tradition from the fathers, from Sinai and from God'. Consequently 'The pupil had to absorb all the traditional wisdom with 'eyes, ears and every member' by seeking the company of a Rabbi, by serving him ($\psi \supset \psi$), following him and imitating him ($\sim \gamma \supset \gamma$ $\gamma \supset \gamma$), and not only by listening to him. The task of the pupil is therefore not only to hear ($\gamma \supset \psi$) but also to see ($\gamma \supset \gamma$).²⁷

However, one should note that as Jesus was Lord as well as Teacher,²⁸ there were certain special features of his relationship with his disciples.²⁹ Unlike ordinary rabbis who attracted followers who hoped to learn enough to complete their education and eventually be independent of their teachers, Jesus chose³⁰ his disciples and called them to life-long service and sharing in his mission and fate. In this sense 'discipleship' controls the concept of 'imitation' in the sense that it may not be understood in terms of selective imitation or total independence. On the other hand, 'imitation' controls the concept of 'discipleship' in the sense of Swartley's second option, imitation as 'a broader concept which includes copying an example,

which in turn illumines even the nature of discipleship'. For it prevents the reduction of discipleship to obedience, a reduction that would be an unwarranted simplification for several reasons. Quite apart from the normal rabbi-disciple relationship which involved paying attention to actions as well as words, as Jesus was to remind John the Baptist,³¹ Christ's own teaching method must be considered. Not only did his words include appeals to examples³² but, far more significantly, they often took that form which only addresses the will indirectly through the imagination, that is, the parable.³³ A third reason for not reducing discipleship to obedience is that this would be foreign to both the Johannine and Pauline understanding.

According to the fourth gospel, Jesus placed obedience in the larger context of love, calling his disciples friends rather than servants,³⁴ and went on to encompass everything with union with himself and the Father.³⁵ Hence, 'The imitation was rooted in the fellowship and union with Christ and sprang forth from it'.³⁶ The same is true of Paul's interpretation, which was enriched by consideration of the image of God in man³⁷ and of the Hellenistic axiom that children take on the nature of their parents.³⁸ This latter concept being relevant to imitation of God, Christ, or Paul as an imitator of Christ. However, Michaelis sees the parent-child relationship only in terms of obedience³⁹ and so misses the context of love in which imitation in its widest sense may thrive. Consequently he interprets imitation as obedience and forces the texts to show this.⁴⁰ Total concentration on obedience also leads him to rule out both the 'imitation, whether outward or inward, of the earthly life of Jesus in either individual features or total impress' and 'imitation as a mystical relation to the risen Lord'.⁴¹ Insofar as he wishes to guard against the view that Christ is nothing more than an example, and would prefer to use the term

conformitas to imitatio,⁴² his intention may be respected; but it is difficult to see why such considerations involves coming to those three conclusions. Indeed, it would be much easier to trace the latter back to dominant themes of recent Protestant thought than to deduce them from the Epistles.

'CHRIST OF FAITH' OR 'JESUS OF HISTORY'?

Although Michaelis' conclusion that 'The call for an imitatio Christi finds no support in the statements of Paul'⁴³ is too sweeping, there would be a fair body of opinion which would wish to extend his rejection of imitation of the earthly life of Jesus to cover the whole of the New Testament writings. Such a rejection might not be based solely on exegetical findings, but also stem from a pragmatic argument that form-criticism and redaction-criticism have made it difficult or impossible to rely on any chronological framework of the course of Jesus' ministry, or to decide how much material goes back to Jesus himself.⁴⁴ However, this only becomes a rejection, as opposed to a difficulty, when the further assumption is made that such historical problems are irrelevant since the early church was interested in the 'Christ of faith' rather than the 'Jesus of History'.

Discussion continues on these matters and the literature is extensive, all that will be done here is to argue that the questions are not closed.

On the subject of traditio-historical criticism it may be observed that as the interests of Jesus and the church were not necessarily dissimilar, there is no need to apportion the material between mutually exclusive sources. Furthermore, the criteria so far evolved for deciding what goes back to Jesus are by no means self-evidently valid or sufficient,⁴⁵ and the problems of identifying the 'historical early church' are no easier than those of

identifying the 'historical Jesus'.⁴⁶ In short, while traditio-historical criticism has shown up some problems which were not obvious previously, it has not as yet helped very much in their resolution. As far as the church's interest in the risen Lord as opposed to the words and actions of Jesus of Nazareth is concerned, it may be argued that although there is evidence that the church retained and arranged material according to its own interests, talk of its creative rôle must be modified by the consideration that the gospel tradition also exhibits a certain stubbornness or independence.⁴⁷ On one hand there is little or no treatment in the gospels of the problems related to the church's Gentile mission. On the other hand, there are features which survive in the gospels which the apostolic church was not much concerned with or opposed to. These would include Jesus' restriction of the gospel to Israel, his attitude to tax collectors and sinners, women and children, and animals.⁴⁸ One might think that a church that was not interested in how things actually happened would have been embarrassed enough by traditions of Jesus' obscure background and rejection by his family and many elements of society to suppress them, but they have been preserved. Another aspect of the church's interest in the life of Jesus is shown in Luke-Acts, which depicts the death of Stephen as an imitation of the death of Christ.⁴⁹ There are also parallels between the pattern of Peter's and Paul's mission and that of Jesus,⁵⁰ although these are less striking. As far as Paul's own writings are concerned, it seems clear that the celebrated statement in 2 Cor 5.16 'From now on, therefore, we regard no one from a human point of view; even though we once regarded Christ from a human point of view, we regard him thus no longer', is irrelevant to the question of Paul's interest in the historical Jesus.⁵¹ The first part of the verse makes such an interpretation difficult, and the previous two verses indicate that the sole concern is with

the new outlook that follows from Christ's death and resurrection and the Christian's sharing in it.⁵²

Conversely, 'Lists of allusions and parallels to the synoptic logia underline their influential role in the primitive church, but they do not reveal Paul's own interest in Jesus of Nazareth',⁵³ for they are only concerned with the teaching of Jesus. However, there are several passages⁵⁴ from which Paul's interest in the person and character of Jesus may be deduced, even if this is not their sole concern. For, on one hand, the distinction between the 'Christ of faith' and the 'Jesus of history' was unknown to Paul. 'There were not for St. Paul three absolutely separate dimensions of time, that of the historical Jesus in the past, that of the Christian Church in the present, and that of the Coming of the Lord, but basically the one life of the eternal Christ in his Church.'⁵⁵ While on the other, Christ is indicated as the motive and ground of action as well as the example of it.⁵⁶ Hence it is easy to understand how different assessments are reached concerning the balance between these themes.

Thus, to take an example, one might conclude with regard to Phil 2.6-11 that 'The stress falls more on what He accomplished than upon who He was. It is the record of His acts, more than of His character and traits of personality, that occupies the centre of interest'.⁵⁷ An alternative approach is to follow the general verdict that 'to imitate Christ means always to seek to emulate both the earthly and the heavenly Christ, and both in indissoluble relation'.⁵⁸ In this instance that would result in deciding that

Paul seems to have 'fused' the character of Jesus of Nazareth and the pre-existent Christ together and to have had neither simpliciter in mind.If verse 6 refers specifically to the pre-existent Son, then on almost any interpretation of this verse, the sort of person depicted corresponds with the character portrait of Jesus of Nazareth which emerges so clearly in verses 7-8.⁵⁹

If study of these and other verses allow the conclusion to be drawn that Paul does refer to the life of Jesus, then it is only a small step further to recognise parallels between the lives of the apostles and the life of Jesus,⁶⁰ and to see that certain qualities and virtues of Christ are expected of all Christians,⁶¹ although once again, such 'imitation' must be seen in context. In the first place there is a combination of active imitation, obedience, and passive imitation or conformation.⁶² In the second, the virtues are as much fruits of the Spirit⁶³ as the result of individual endeavour. On this latter point it should also be said that Paul makes no distinction between Jesus and the Spirit which would allow one to set the latter off against the former, and to move out to the realm of idealistic ethics.⁶⁴ For neither his theological understanding nor his ethical formulations are static abstractions drawn from the being of a transcendent God.⁶⁵ Instead, 'the distinctive mark of the Spirit becomes his Christness ... Jesus becomes the personality of the Spirit'.⁶⁶ Thus the lordship of Christ is known through the leading of the Spirit, which means that the Spirit's work is not to be thought of as a development of the believer's virtues, or a conformation of his character to a rule of life, taking place in isolation from specific situations and decisions.⁶⁷ Indeed, it may be said that 'The working of the Holy Spirit shows itself chiefly in the 'testing' ($\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$), that is, in the capacity of forming the correct Christian ethical judgment at each given moment',⁶⁸ although this conclusion should not be divorced from the recognition that Paul's thought may be likened to an ellipse with two foci, the law of Christ and the mind of Christ.⁶⁹ Hence consideration of Christ's teaching and example is relevant both for the making and checking of individual decisions, and for acquiring a renewed mind (cf. Rom 12.2) which is habitually⁷⁰ oriented to Christ's perspective and so follows his way at a deeper, less conscious level.

IMITATION OF CHRIST AND IMITATION OF GOD

Another approach to the question of the content of thought about the imitatio Christi is to consider similar passages concerning the imitatio Dei. Such passages are understandably few in the Bible,⁷¹ considering the transcendent view of God held by both Jews (Is 40.15, 17; 46.5; Ps 90.4) and Christians (Jn 1.18; 1 Tim 6.16). Even the few specific references (Lev 19.2; Mt 5.48; Lk 6.36; 1 Pet 1.16; Eph 5.1) are open to different interpretations, as are other quotations in which such imitation is implied rather than expressed.

Thus, in the Old Testament, the command 'You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lev 19.2), presents an obligation rather than an example, since many of the following verses could have no reference to God.⁷² The same is true of instances where God's example could more easily be applied directly, as in Dt 10.18f. 'He executes justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing. Love the sojourner therefore; for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt'. For, in the context of similar statements⁷³ of the way Israel should treat such people, it is the reminder of their own former situation in Egypt and of their obligation to the Lord who rescued them, which is the prime motivation. Likewise, while 'walking in the way of' has the general meaning of expressing the same religious commitment as someone else,⁷⁴ when applied to God it is better understood as 'the obeying of him and the enjoying of covenantal fellowship with him'.⁷⁵ It is not denied that the latter may include the 'seeking to compare to and to resemble God',⁷⁶ but the Old Testament does not explore this theme. It is only in the New Testament that the idea of fellowship and likeness blossoms and transforms the concept of obedience.

The injunction 'be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5.48), or 'Be merciful, even as your Father is merciful' (Lk 6.36)⁷⁷ may be interpreted in several ways. It may be seen as a command of radical obedience or total consecration to God, in the IXX sense of *τέλειος*, understood as being 'entirely faithful' (Dt 18.13 Jerusalem Bible), rather than 'blameless' (RSV).⁷⁸ Alternatively, an 'imitation' theme may be seen in the context of the previous verses, which call for a following of God's impartiality in radical love or mercy⁷⁹ to all without distinction, on account of the believers' sonship (Mt 5.45; Lk 6.35).⁸⁰ However, Jesus 'is not pointing them to the way of becoming sons, but calling them to be what they already are. They are to bring their sonship to expression in their lives'.⁸¹

The same connection between imitation and sonship is to be found in 1 Pet 1.15-17 and Eph 5.1, while the passage previous to this latter reference brings in the theme of re-creation in the image of God.⁸² Similarly in the parallel argument of Col 3, which is also noteworthy for the transfer of qualities applied to God in the Old Testament to Christ.⁸³ Such fluidity and movement between imitatio Dei and imitatio Christi is also a feature of the close relationship worked out between them in 1 John.⁸⁴ It stems as well from the eschatological dimension which makes both of them open-ended. Thus, in 1 Jn 3.2, where the subject is the Father and the Son; believers are told 'Beloved, we are God's children now; it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he appears we shall be like him for we shall see him as he is'.⁸⁵ In 2 Cor 3.18, which speaks of Son and Spirit, the transformation is perhaps brought forward a little in time,⁸⁶ but the same pattern is to be observed. 'And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord

who is the Spirit.'

This transformation or assimilation to the image of the glorified Christ is one pole of the believer's union with him in death and resurrection,⁸⁷ which begins in baptism.⁸⁸ The texts agree that its consummation is eschatological, but differ as to the extent that they present the new life as a present reality. This is because no simple picture can be drawn, for there is a tension to be acknowledged⁸⁹ arising from two facts, the first being that Christ has ushered in the new world, the second, that the old world continues to exist and exert its power. Hence, in the passage which most clearly speaks of the new life as a present reality, there has to be an imperative 'Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies ... but yield yourselves to God' (Rom 6.12f.); as well as an indicative 'We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin' (Rom 6.6).

So, the believer participates in the new life in the present, but Paul is careful to make clear that it does not become the believer's possession. It is realised through a continual surrender of one's present activity to God, a walking in newness of life, and at the same time it remains God's gift for the future. Both of these aspects make clear that the new life remains in God's control.⁹⁰

Or, to repeat what has been said before, 'imitation' must always be seen in the context of discipleship, so it neither exists without relation to God, nor is determined in its content apart from God's present or future will. However, insofar as that will may be thought of as a sharing of Christ's suffering and glorification,⁹¹ it may be asked what this idea means. Is conformation of the believer to Christ in death and resurrection more than a striking analogy through the symbolism of baptism, or more specific than a picture of what happens in any human life where the choice of particular goals or identities involves the 'death' of others? Finally, what becomes of the content of the imitatio Christi when it is

mediated through the imitation of Paul? The answers to these questions are bound together, so they will now be considered under the heading of the last of them.

IMITATION OF CHRIST AND IMITATION OF PAUL

As might be expected from the tenor of the discussion of the new life in Christ, Paul understands 'dying with Christ' as only beginning with conversion and baptism, they do not complete it. This 'dying' continues to be a fact of daily experience, since in this life there is no participation in Christ's exaltation without participation in his suffering (Rom 8.17). A truth which Paul mentioned in passing, as it were, to the Philippians (Phil 3.10f.), and most emphatically to the Corinthians (2 Cor 4.10ff.) who seemed unaware of it. However, the two go together, and as Paul testified from personal experience, it is through weakness that God's power is known (2 Cor 12.9f., 13.4, cf. 1.3-7).⁹² It is also through Paul's weakness that God's nature can be known⁹³ (cf. 1 Tim 1.16), as the call to imitate the apostle (Phil 3.17) prefaced by a confession of his imperfection (Phil 3.12) implies. It is not his achievement that is significant, but the example of a life shaped by a definite goal: self-emptying and suffering for and with the Christ who is worth everything (Phil 3.7-11).⁹⁴ It is this basic orientation which makes it possible for Paul to say 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ' (1 Cor 11.1), although naturally there had to be evidence for the resemblance in order to make the exhortation effective.

The theme of self-emptying in imitation of Paul occurs again in terms of reliance on faith alone (Gal 4.12),⁹⁵ and in terms of self-forgetfulness (1 Cor 11.1, 2 Cor 10.1). Suffering reappears in two passages (1 Thess 1.6-7, 2.14. Paul's second call to the Philippians to imitate

him in unspecified but positive ways (Phil 4.8f), finds echoes also (1 Cor 4.16f.; 2 Tim 3.10, cf. 1.13.). While most specific is the example of the apostles' industry which prevented them being a charge on the church, and also had wider implications for the attitudes Christians should adopt (2 Thess 3.7-9),⁹⁶ including making provision for those in need (Acts 20.35).⁹⁷

Why did Paul ask that people imitate himself, rather than Christ directly? Since he only asked it of churches or individuals he knew personally, it must follow from the father-son relationship he had with his spiritual children,⁹⁸ and the feelings of special responsibility which that involved. As he wrote to the church at Corinth,

I do not write this to make you ashamed, but to admonish you as my beloved children. For though you have countless guides in Christ, you do not have many fathers. For I became your father in Christ Jesus through the gospel. I urge you, then, be imitators of me. (1 Cor 4.14-16).

A second consideration would have been for the pedagogical efficacy of a known example, which may be deduced from the advice offered to Timothy (1 Tim 4.11f.) and Titus (Tit 2.7f., 15) to reinforce their teaching by their example.⁹⁹

There is little foundation for the third possibility that Paul was preaching a distinctive gospel peculiar to himself, or establishing a principle of the necessity of its mediation through apostolic tradition.¹⁰⁰ For Paul's concern in speaking of his own example was only to use it as a powerful instrument to combat heresy, while his understanding of its relation to the imitation of Christ was not rigid. He could speak of the two exempla separately (Phil 2.5, 3.17) or side by side (1 Thess 1.6) as well as in tandem.¹⁰¹ It might also be noted that at a considerably later date, Augustine had a fluid approach to the subject, since he both valued intermediate models and believed that they could be bypassed.¹⁰²

However, although Paul's teaching was not idiosyncratic, both his concrete example and reference to the character as well as to the teaching of Jesus provide a fuller guide to Christian living than that conveyed by Furnish in his conclusion that 'To imitate Paul and Christ means to be conformed to Christ's suffering and death in the giving of one's self over to the service of others'.¹⁰³ For there is much more to be picked up about what the 'giving of one's self over to the service of others' means, not least from 1 Cor 13, in which, it has been said, the picture of agape can only have arisen from the life of the historic Christ.¹⁰⁴

Having already considered the question of Paul's interest in the character of Jesus, it remains to ask one particular question concerning the content of the imitatio Christi. When Paul exhorts 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ' (1 Cor 11.1), in what sense is he or the Thessalonian church an imitator of Christ in relation to suffering? Does Paul's claim that 'in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's affliction for the sake of his body, that is, the church' (Col 1.24), imply that such suffering has a redemptive aspect?

The verse is notorious for the use that has been made of it in times past,¹⁰⁵ and also for the difficulty of translating it. However, modern exegesis¹⁰⁶ may be said to have left on one side the idea that Jesus' death was insufficient in any sense,¹⁰⁷ for the thought that it was Paul's and the church's suffering which was incomplete,¹⁰⁸ so Paul gladly offered to take it upon himself. The connection between Christ's suffering and Paul's may be seen in several ways, for the verse talks of the church as the body of Christ, and the immediate context is concerned with Paul's sufferings on account of his apostolic endeavours. So Paul suffers both as a member of the church in spiritual or mystical¹⁰⁹ as well as social solidarity with the others, and also as a father would for his children.¹¹⁰ There is an idea

of going on to further experience of participation in the element of suffering inherent in the Christian life.¹¹¹ There is additionally the concept of special suffering consequent on Paul's carrying out of his missionary task as Christ's representative. Connected with both¹¹² of these is the further consideration that a quota of messianic woes¹¹³ must be fulfilled before the coming of the kingdom.

It is not necessary to choose between these interpretations, since they connect with each other. They also have in common the principle that Christ's action precedes and empowers them all. That being said, Paul's suffering can be seen as a continuing of the work of Christ, although the idea which often accompanies it, that the church is an imitation or extension of Christ in time and space, or that Christ has no hands but our hands, demands scrutiny and qualification. For New Testament support for identifying Christ with the church alone, as opposed to maintaining that the church only exists by virtue of its incorporation 'in Christ', is slight,¹¹⁴ while consideration of Mt 25.31-46¹¹⁵ reminds one of other aspects of Christ's presence among men,¹¹⁶ not to mention the dimension of his presence and work in the creation.¹¹⁷

That the New Testament looks forward to an eschatological redemption of the creation reminds one that the imitatio Christi is also eschatological. Although this element has frequently been overlooked in the Christian tradition, in the earliest days through the immediacy of martyrdom, at other periods through an individualistic mysticism or existentialism.¹¹⁸ Hence, besides having a base which was too narrow, the concept of imitatio Christi has also suffered at times through being 'focussed' in the wrong direction, it not being realised that, to borrow a conclusion reached in another context:

The Christian, as we have seen, defines mature manhood in terms of Jesus Christ, and especially his self-giving love. But Christ himself is no static figure, nor are Christians called to imitate him as a static model. Christ is an eschatological figure, always before us; and the doctrine of his coming again "with glory" implies that there are dimensions of Christhood not manifest in the historical Jesus and not yet fully grasped by the disciples. Thus discipleship does not restrict human development to some fixed pattern; but summons into freedoms, the full depth of which is unknown, except that they will always be consonant with self-giving love.¹¹⁹

However, there is much to be considered on the subject of the imitatio Christi in Christian thought since New Testament times, whether it be in the continuous stream of Catholic spirituality, or in the more occasional treatment of Protestant writing. This is the concern of the next two sections, which once again bring out insights and problems of the complex concept under investigation. Their purpose is two-fold:

(firstly, to draw out major themes of the developing understanding of the concept relevant to the thesis as a whole, Secondly, to point out the difficulties that have been encountered with particular interpretations, and to attempt to assess their force. Treatment of such a wide field has had to be selective, which means that, in the case of individual theologians, questions of context tend to become subsidiary to questions of overt meaning. This is inevitable in such a survey, as definitive treatment would require a major study on each writer. However, some attempt has been made to keep both aspects in view, since much, if not most, argument about imitatio Christi is based on disagreement over the context which affects the meaning perceived by the critic. This is illustrated in the discussion of Ignatius of Antioch and Clement of Rome, but needs to be kept in mind throughout, just as it applies, mutatis mutandis in any discussion of Christian ethics.

Yet although they have a common aim in view, in the nature of the case there is different emphasis in each.

In the first, Patristic and Catholic thought is traced, with particular reference to themes and theologians that influenced or illuminate De Foucauld's understanding of imitatio Christi. In the second, Protestant thought is followed. This, apart from that of the Radical wing of the Reformation, has largely been critical, but it is criticised in its turn for being over influenced in the twentieth century by the Kantian or existential approach to ethics and the self which has been questioned earlier in this study.

2 - PATRISTIC AND CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENTS

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

If a quick guide was required to the understanding of the imitatio Christi down the ages, it would not be an inaccurate measure of its meaning and context to follow exegesis of two passages from the New Testament. The meaning, insofar as Jesus' teaching was consistent with his actions, could be found from appreciation of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5-7), and the context from the place given to the Pauline affirmation: 'I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.' (Gal 2.20.). Such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the principle will be kept in mind, particularly with regard to changes in understanding of the Sermon on the Mount, as these have been well documented.¹²⁰

In the post-Apostolic period, from the Didache to Origen, the Sermon on the Mount was quoted more often than any other part of scripture.¹²¹ This was partly a reaction to the non-historical and amoral trends in gnosticism, especially in Marcionism, and partly a positive proclamation of an ethic for all Christians. A view that was generally held until the 'double standard' distinction between precepts and counsels was clarified in medieval times,¹²² although certain passages in the Didache, Chrysostom, and Augustine could be interpreted in this way.¹²³

This period is also noteworthy for its specific concern with imitatio Christi, for De Boer¹²⁴ finds eighteen references to the subject in the Apostolic Fathers, as opposed to only eleven in the whole of the New Testament. Questions have, however, been asked even of this early period, as to whether the treatment of the concept was orthodox or whether it tended

to docetism and gnosticism. Was the incarnation taken seriously, or was Jesus seen only as the teacher who points to the imitation of God? Was human existence in its historical and social dimensions valued, or was concern only expressed for the individual's quickest route to God through imitation of Christ? A third question would be about incipient Pelagianism. Was imitation of Christ, through martyrdom or anything else, understood as something that man achieved on his own?

Thus, for example, Ignatius of Antioch has been criticised on all three points,¹²⁵ although he has not lacked supporters to reply in his defence. Tinsley¹²⁶ replied to the first charge that Ignatian mysticism was 'a good example of Christian "incarnational" mysticism in which the historical life of Jesus has a central place.'. More recently Swartley¹²⁷ has answered the second, while recognising that it is possible to make Ignatius out to be more orthodox than he is. The second criticism merges with the third, in the judgement that Ignatius reversed the Pauline pattern of a passive participation in Christ's sufferings issuing in an active ethic, so that active imitation rather than participation was followed by a passive ethic of flight from the world and evasion in death. Camelot¹²⁸ believed Preiss to be mistaken in this understanding and supported his argument by quotations from parts of the Ignatian letters that the latter had not considered.

Swartley also expressed concern that Ignatius is judged by selective extracts and attempts to present a fairer picture through statistical analysis of word use. His discussion is of further interest in its comments on two aspects of contemporary concern with imitatio Christi. To the question of the relation between imitation and discipleship, he answers that his analysis shows that they are distinguishable. 'Imitation and discipleship, although they both express aspirations of dedication, are oriented to different sets of terms.'¹²⁹ Furthermore, and contrary to generally received opinion,

...the key issue in understanding Ignatius is not his concept of imitation and not his view of discipleship per se, but rather the relationship between his discipleship (not imitation) and the unity of the church in Syria. ¹³⁰

The second link with modern thought is Swartley's conclusion about the meaning of imitation, which includes a dichotomy which reflects Protestant prejudice against the mystical which one may suspect that Ignatius himself would have had difficulty in understanding, viz. 'Associated with the ideas of suffering love, and unity, Ignatius' use of the term imitation is radically historical, not metaphysical or mystical.'¹³¹

If the letters of Ignatius may be criticised on all three of the three counts given above, the letter of Clement to the Corinthians may be faulted particularly on the first and the third. In one case it appears that

...faith pertains 'not so much to the person of Christ as to Christ's precepts' ...and the real object of faith is God alone. Accordingly it is difficult to see any place for Christ in the Christian salvation beyond that of a preacher of the grace of repentance.¹³²

In the other, the long catalogue¹³³ of exemplary figures from the Old Testament, apostles, martyrs, and even the non-Christian world, seems to outweigh the example of Christ and discount his saving work. The only requirement seems to be respect for the examples, followed by obedience 'so that ceasing from vain sedition we may gain without any fault the goal set before us in truth.'¹³⁴

Yet another reader¹³⁵ of I Clement can come to a different conclusion, seeing everything centred on Christ, with the constant use of the expressions 'in Christ' and 'through Jesus Christ', description of Christ's suffering and work,¹³⁶ and in the overall context of the prayer of chapters 59-61.

Questions on the second and third count concern the understanding of imitation of Christ in terms of martyrdom. Was it a defective concept in being too narrow or inappropriate?

MARTYRDOM

The concept arose very early in the church with the death and especially the final prayer of the first martyr, Stephen.¹³⁷ But its application was not restricted to descriptions or evaluations of death for the faith; it was the underlying motivation that could bring believers to that situation which was significant. The focus was not so much on the supreme sacrifice itself,¹³⁸ as on the death to the self and the kindling of love for God and man which in certain situations would be crowned in martyrdom.¹³⁹ Such a death was not so much a means to become like Jesus - although it was believed that likeness to Jesus in death would lead to likeness in resurrection glory¹⁴⁰ - as a possible consequence of being faithful to him that one should be prepared for,¹⁴¹ as the word martyr - witness - suggests. Love was the keynote.

The martyrs draw near to our Lord who died for all people as much because of their great love as because they were made like unto Him by their sufferings.¹⁴²

Martyrs were seen as 'the imitators of the true agape',¹⁴³ and honoured for that reason.¹⁴⁴ When Chrysostom put them forward as models to follow he was not preaching 'an imitation reduced to martyrdom', but recommending their 'courage, fervour, faith, detachment from this world' and 'desire for future goods'.¹⁴⁵ Or as Clement of Alexandria put it, whoever follows the dominical injunction (Mk 10.39) to leave family for the sake of the Gospel, 'is blessed because he realises not only ordinary martyrdom but the gnostic martyrdom, in living and acting according to the rule of the Gospel, by love for the Lord. For gnosis is the knowledge of the name

and the understanding of the Gospel'.¹⁴⁶

How much such gnostic language of this or later periods is Christian is arguable, but it has been suggested¹⁴⁷ that the distinction between Christian and idealistic or neo-platonic mysticism is to be found in the wish to imitate the Passion of Christ, although this takes different forms. Only some Christians seem to be called to show the Passion clearly and obviously in martyrdom or lives of active reparation or contemplative suffering,¹⁴⁸ but all mystical union requires purification which involves suffering, and goes on to love which embraces suffering.

So, for example, while individual Franciscan missionaries of the thirteenth century might well have had to face the prospect of actual martyrdom,¹⁴⁹ St. Bonaventure saw the desire for it as a step in the mystical ascent toward union with God for all. Thus, the penultimate stage ~~towards~~ the first of the goals of contemplation, gave

...a fourfold desire of martyrdom: for the sake of perfect remission of sin, perfect cleansing of blemishes, perfect fulfilment of the penalty and perfect sanctification in grace'.¹⁵⁰

This was the purgative way towards the eternal possession of supreme peace. The second goal of contemplation, by the illuminative way to the clear vision of supreme truth, was only reached after embracing the cross and being willing and desirous to give one's life for Christ. The third goal, full enjoyment of the supreme goodness of love, was also reached after a stage of being so full of love for God that one would seek the cross rather than consolation.¹⁵¹

Naturally, the emphasis on each of these aspects varied with individuals; thus Raymond Llull placed so much on the third, that his desire for martyrdom has been judged as not so much being based on imitatio Christi and renunciation, as derived from courtly love traditions.¹⁵²

The question of interpreting imitatio Christi as imitation of the Passion in any way is to be met with again from the fourteenth century onwards, but other understandings of the concept must be briefly traced at this point. When the Roman empire was Christianised, martyrdom had to be replaced as the way of perfection by chastity, spiritual battle in the desert, and monasticism. Imitatio Christi was also understood in these new ways, although not exclusively so, as can be seen from the thought of John Chrysostom and Augustine.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM AND ST. AUGUSTINE

Chrysostom was a great believer in the power of models to influence behaviour, whether they be taken from the Old or New Testaments, from the first Christians or the martyrs, or even from contemporary monks whom he wished would establish themselves in towns so that people could visit them.¹⁵³ But he was not only concerned with the imitation of monks or apostles, he considered imitatio Christi to be a Christian duty.

You are a Christian in order to imitate Christ and obey His commands. Look then to Him who is the perfect model.¹⁵⁴

Such an imitation is possible for us; it lifts us above our human nature and renders us like unto God.¹⁵⁵

It would not be wrong to detect a strain of angelism in the second quotation,¹⁵⁶ but Chrysostom felt that in inaugurating heavenly life on earth Christ commanded in word and illustrated in deed more than the virtue of detachment. The Christian was taught and encouraged in the ways of patience, gentleness, zeal, poverty, humility, prayer, consent to the Father's will, and especially charity (which included the pardoning and loving of one's enemies), as well.¹⁵⁷ Nor was all this seen just as a standard for man to reach through his own efforts. Christ has given

the means for man to become like Him,¹⁵⁸ through putting on Christ in baptism¹⁵⁹ and building on Him as the only foundation, 'as the vine is for the branches; and may nothing come between Christ and us. At the slightest separation we die instantly'.¹⁶⁰

Augustine's thought ran in similar lines. The principle of handing on tradition through the imitation of models seemed obvious to him,¹⁶¹ as did the point that

...for all the better sort of persons in the Church, for whom there now remained no longer any man worthy to be a model for their imitation; because by the proficiency they have made, they had left all others behind; for them Christ Himself remains, as One Whom they may follow even unto the end.¹⁶²

Although, as a pastor, Augustine understood that some people would feel too unworthy to attempt this, and so advised those who had a low opinion of themselves to 'dare to follow fishermen and publicans, who followed Him'.¹⁶³

Christ was the original and necessary model as the mediator between God and man who was therefore like both and near to both,¹⁶⁴ and also able to show man the situation he was in. For,

First we have had to be persuaded how much God loved us, lest from despair we should not dare to be lifted up to Him. And we needed to be shown also what manner of men we are whom He loved, lest being proud, as if of our own merits, we should recoil the more from Him, and fail the more in our own strength.¹⁶⁵

Having learned that he is to follow Christ in strength that is not his own, the believer has to realise that following involves imitation of the master

...not so far forth as He is the Only Son of God, by Whom all things were made; but so far forth as, the Son of Man, He set forth in Himself, what behoved for us to imitate.¹⁶⁶

Jesus' example included that of chastity, but Augustine was quick to remind those who were already married, that it was not the only one.¹⁶⁷

All Christians could follow Jesus in His carrying out of the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, even if Augustine's comment on married persons going in the same steps 'although not setting their foot perfectly in the same print',¹⁶⁸ gave chastity a greater value than the other virtues.

Augustine also espoused detachment as another component of following Christ in struggling against the world, the flesh, and the devil.¹⁶⁹ A third theme was that of humility, particularly shown in Christ's incarnation and passion, which Augustine was the first to affirm as a specifically Christian virtue.¹⁷⁰

In more general terms, he is to be remembered for three things which had a lasting influence on concepts of imitatio Christi. Firstly, for the equating of imitation and following, after I Peter 2.21.¹⁷¹ Secondly, for seeing imitation and consequently participation in Christ as the outcome of love for Him.¹⁷² Thirdly, for linking imitatio Christi to the refashioning¹⁷³ of the damaged but not obliterated¹⁷⁴ image of God in Man.

Questions have been asked about all three of these conclusions, but particularly with regard to the third. On one hand it has been felt that 'imitation theology' and 'image theology' are mutually exclusive, on the other that linking the two only compounds the objections that may be made about each of them separately. The latter point of view is held in Protestant theology and will be treated later. The former position arose earlier in the Church and will be dealt with here.

IMITATION AND IMAGE

It has been stated¹⁷⁵ that the Eastern Church had no place for an 'imitation theology' because it thought completely in terms of an 'image theology' of 'life in Christ', while the reverse was true in the Western Church, which can consequently be judged Pelagian. Both criticisms are

too sweeping. Imitatio Christi found a place in the writings of several Eastern theologians, including the following:¹⁷⁶ Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Macarius the Great, Mark the Hermit, Nilus of Ancyra, Abbot Isaias, Maximus the Confessor, and John Climacus, while Nicholas Cabasilas, one of the last of the medieval Byzantines, saw no opposition between imitation and life in Christ. 'To imitate Christ and live according to Him, is to live in Christ, and is the work of the free will, when it submits itself to divine wishes.'¹⁷⁷ An 'image' and 'imitation' link was also made by Origen, who asserted that

By saying 'to the image of God He created him' and omitting the mention of 'the likeness', he indicates nothing else but that man received the dignity of 'the image' at his creation, but the perfection of 'the likeness' was reserved for his consummation, that is, that he should acquire it by his personal efforts through the imitation of God; so that, while the possibility of reaching perfection was given him in the beginning by the dignity of 'the image', he might by performing works himself achieve the perfect 'likeness' in the end.¹⁷⁸

It will be noticed, however, that in this passage the subject is imitation of God rather than imitation of Christ, which reminds one that - in the light of docetic tendencies in Alexandrian Christology generally¹⁷⁹ that the question must be asked - whether, under the influence of Greek philosophy, all the theologians listed above were really concerned with the former. Yet such a question is not restricted to Eastern Christianity, for it has to be asked later on of mystics influenced by pseudo-Dionysius. Was the imitation of God seen as a superior alternative to the imitation of Christ, or did consideration of the humanity of Christ inform and enrich a Trinitarian approach?

Certainly, the very person whose commentaries introduced pseudo-Dionysius to Catholic readers,¹⁸⁰ Maximus the Confessor, laid stress on the imitatio Christi. It must be admitted that he wrote in one place 'the law

of grace teaches its devotees to imitate God himself directly'.¹⁸¹ It is also true that possession of the divine attributes,¹⁸² including the perfect charity which loves all men without distinction,¹⁸³ and the goodness which comes through conformity of the will to God,¹⁸⁴ were all predicated of imitation of God and union with him. For,

He who does good will truly show that he is God through grace and through participation, since he has appropriated by a happy imitation the activity and the quality of his charity.¹⁸⁵

But it will be noted that the divine attributes Maximus was concerned with, were not those of omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, or impassibility, which might have been derived from philosophy; but those shown supremely in Christ. This may be seen in a quotation reminiscent of Romans 12.2.

The mind, joined with God and abiding with Him through prayer and charity, becomes wise, good, powerful, benevolent, merciful, long-suffering; in a word, it contains in itself practically all the divine attributes.¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, near the end of the same work, Maximus asserted that 'he who loves Christ, certainly imitates Him as much as he can',¹⁸⁷ particularly in His example of continually doing good in the face of verbal or physical violence which never stopped or sidetracked Him. Such are 'the works of love for neighbour apart from which the man deceives himself who says he loves Christ or has reached his kingdom'.¹⁸⁸

Two things are connected here, imitation of Christ's actions, and imitation of Christ's adherence to God's will. Both were significant for Maximus. On one hand his thought on the imitatio Christi generally may be summarised as follows. A Christian should (following the apostles, St. Paul and the saints)¹⁸⁹ be concerned to become another Christ in regulating everything by the imitation of Christ.¹⁹⁰ Such imitation, which consists 'in becoming living images of Christ, or rather one thing

with him',¹⁹¹ is possible through the power that is received if one is free from bondage to material things.¹⁹² It is only through imitation of the cross of the humble and suffering Lord that one comes to contemplation,¹⁹³ and receives gifts from him of wisdom, knowledge, and charity.¹⁹⁴ Thereafter the Christian should imitate Christ in works of mercy, which may include the witness of martyrdom.¹⁹⁵

On the other hand, all the above is related to Maximus the Confessor's Christology, which makes Christ 'the ideal model of our deification since His human will, though physically distinct from the Divine Will, was perfectly subject to the Word, thus effecting a complete moral union with God'.¹⁹⁶

The aspect of Maximus' thought just dealt with is thus one in which the meaning of imitatio Christi was defined through linking the first two persons of the Trinity, although the general focus of Eastern theology may be said to be on the first and third.¹⁹⁷ An alternative approach would be to link the second and third, Son and Spirit. This was done in patristic and later times in terms of the virtues and seven gifts of the Spirit,¹⁹⁸ and is also a feature of twentieth-century approaches to the imitation of Christ, for it has three significant attractions. It focusses on dispositions themselves rather than on actions which may be the result of good or bad dispositions. It is concerned with the exalted as well as the humble Christ. It does not look backwards, but forward in eschatological openness, following the theme of 2 Cor 3.18¹⁹⁹ and 1 Jn.3.2. Hence it bids fair to avoid criticisms of being an external limited, irrelevant or distorted imitatio Christi, although the precise emphasis placed on Son and Spirit must be considered in assessing how much one is concerned with imitating aspects of Christ's humanity.

Thus to illustrate what has been said about the balance between the persons of the Trinity, and to take a very influential theologian discussing a major component of imitatio Christi, one may consider the approach of Thomas Aquinas to poverty.²⁰⁰ It is true that he asserted, against the Franciscan stand on the virtue of absolute poverty, that 'perfection does not consist essentially in poverty but in the following of Christ',²⁰¹ but this was only one level of his argument. Besides considering the practice of the evangelical virtues, Aquinas also discussed the matter in terms of the gifts of the Spirit and the virtues of temperance and prudence.²⁰² If the criticism²⁰³ that the latter principle taken in a pejorative sense was the true basic of his and subsequent Catholic ethics is too harsh,²⁰⁴ it does seem that Aquinas' moral and mystical theology were generally theocentric rather than Christocentric in their aim and character.

Christ himself is only a means, a way, the end is union with God,²⁰⁵ conformity with God, a very divinisation. Thomas's ethics are wholly dominated by the theological virtues (virtues which have God directly as their object) the fully and absolutely theological nature of which he perceived more clearly than anyone else.²⁰⁶

Hence, from the time of Aquinas until very recently,²⁰⁷ the imitatio Christi was abandoned by moral theology to pastoral theology and thence to ascetical spirituality,²⁰⁸ where it featured as positive practice of the Christian virtues in the illuminative way, generally in analogical rather than direct imitation. That is to say, it was not so much a matter of imitating particular actions of Christ, as of imitating his virtues, which might be shown through very different actions in the believer's particular situation. Although, of course, if particular patterns of virtues were made to dominate, they could define the situation; as when poverty, chastity, and obedience were understood in the monastic sense and made the subject of vows.

All this would be in direct descent from the approach of St. Bonaventure, but consideration must first be given to the twelfth century flowering of mysticism associated with St. Bernard, and then to the contribution of St. Francis of Assisi.

ST. BERNARD

Although the 'spirituality of St. Bernard is not remarkable for any particularly new ideas',²⁰⁹ and his thought on imitatio Christi generally followed Augustine,²¹⁰ his devotion to the mysteries of the life of Christ (especially to the Nativity, circumcision and naming, and to the childhood of Jesus), which was a marked feature of his sermons,²¹¹ established a new pattern and affective ethos for medieval piety.²¹² Yet Bernard's devotion to Jesus must be seen in context, for 'it rests neither in a sensible love for his humanity, nor in mystic contemplation of the Word'.²¹³ The approach to God through Christ in 'remembrance and imitation',²¹⁴ is a whole, in which sensible love for Christ's humanity should lead on to spiritual love, for as Bernard understood it,

Even though an attachment to the body of Christ is a very great gift of the Holy Spirit, I call such a love still carnal when compared to the other love which does not have as its object only the Word made flesh but the Word as Wisdom, Justice, Truth, Holiness, Piety, Virtue and other such titles. For Christ is all of these together....²¹⁵

Thus while Bernard may have been remembered most for his devotion to the child Jesus, he considered all the mysteries. Having pointed out that

By Christ in the flesh the treasures of loving kindness hidden in the bosom of the Father are made manifest, to excite us to confidence, to give us a greater knowledge of the goodness and mercy of God and to draw us to imitate him and love him;²¹⁶

he went on beyond the Passion to the Ascension.

This leads us to a more spiritual love, since Christ is no longer there in the flesh to converse with us, except as the liturgical feasts bring him before us, or we meditate on him in his passion. More than this, it leads us higher still, to the contemplation of Christ in glory, and, reminding us of his second coming, to a conformity and union with his spirit.²¹⁷

Contemplation leads to conformity, but is it conformity in all things?

Is it enough to define the imitable attributes of God as those shown in

Christ? Bernard made a contribution to this discussion in stating that

some attributes were ipso facto inimitable. Not only did he oppose

Abelard's reduction of redemption to exemplarism,²¹⁸ he understood imitation in the context of discipleship. Thus although God's majesty was known to philosophers and his power to the Jews, they were not relevant to the believer

For, power demands submission and majesty calls forth admiration; neither of these lead to imitation. Show us then, Lord Jesus, your goodness, so that man created to your own image might imitate you for we are unable to imitate and we ought not envy your majesty, your power and your wisdom.²¹⁹

ST. FRANCIS

The most famous imitator of Christ in medieval times was St. Francis of Assisi, who was said to be conformed to his master in forty different ways,²²⁰ and supremely in the stigmata which were given him on Mount Alvernia. Although he steadfastly wrote of following Christ rather than imitating him,²²¹ Francis justified the prescriptions in his Rules concerning poverty, humility, obedience, penance, and austerity, by the example as well as the word of Jesus. For while absolute poverty was a particular sign of Christ for Francis, he intended a total imitation.²²² For 'Questions about obedience play a much greater part in the writings of St. Francis than questions of poverty',²²³ and there are themes of mysticism and the desire for

martyrdom which tend to get overlooked.²²⁴ In fact, Francis was concerned with an internal and external imitatio crucis²²⁵ which moved from the self-renunciation implicit in the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, to the love for God and man which was ready to conform to the passion of Christ in martyrdom, if necessary. For Francis was not only concerned with contemplative sharing in Christ's suffering, but also with active mission work which might go beyond imitatio Christi in facing poverty and danger, to the ultimate sacrifice,²²⁶ if that were God's will.

'If that were God's will' may be seen as the foundation of Francis' understanding of the imitatio Christi in two respects. Firstly, in the sense that although he practised and promoted a literal reproduction of many of Christ's actions, and stood firm on the principle of absolute poverty, Francis did not enforce a rigid literalistic imitation based on externals. John the Simple, for example, was not encouraged to continue his mimicry of Francis' every action,²²⁷ while brother Leo was told: 'Whatever way seems best for you to please our Lord God and follow in His footsteps and His poverty, adopt it with the blessing of our Lord God and my permission.'²²⁸

A second application of God's will was Francis' understanding of it as the will of the loving father of all men (however little they recognised it), and of all creation. For the Poverello's spirituality went deeper than an adherence to Christ 'in the humility of his incarnation and the charity of his passion',²²⁹ to an understanding that the incarnation had been a partial sanctification of the world. Consequently, the imitatio Christi also required that the world be affirmed,²³⁰ even if it was necessary to be free from it in order to fully love it.

In fact, Francis' outlook was broad enough to include not only consideration of Christ's work in creation and re-creation, but also His

presence in the Eucharist²³¹ and in the Trinity.²³² So it is not perhaps surprising that he condemned 'those who see in Our Lord Jesus Christ only His humanity'.²³³

ST. BONAVENTURE

However, it was left to the intellectual apologist for the Franciscan way of life, St. Bonaventure, to attempt some clarification of the context and content of the imitatio Christi. As regards context, it belonged particularly to the illuminative way,²³⁴ that is, to the second stage of the mystical ascent in which three acts of Christ are to be met by three corresponding acts of the believer.

Thus Christ came to purge man by expiating his guilt, to enlighten him by the word of his teaching, and to perfect us by taking away punishment and conferring grace and glory. To this three-fold act of Christ the faithful soul submits by being purged from guilt, enlightened by Christ's teachings, and refreshed or perfected by the food of the Eucharist.²³⁵

Yet the second stage is not isolated from the first or the third, in that the desire for imitating Christ in martyrdom is said to be present in all of them,²³⁶ while the perfecting of the third stage leads to a following in Christ's footsteps,²³⁷ as reference to the gifts (as opposed to the virtues) of knowledge and fortitude²³⁸ in the context of imitatio Christi make clear. In short, 'There are no stages where the incarnate word does not loom as the beginning, the model and the end'.²³⁹

Bonaventure understood the content of the imitatio Christi in a traditional combination of Christ's poverty, mortification, and abnegation, with the three Counsels and the three vows,²⁴⁰ the latter being defended as necessary for men who do not have the unchangeable good will that Christ had.²⁴¹ Yet while his choice of content is unremarkable, his statement of the principles involved is worth noting. While all Christ's actions were

meant to teach us something, he did not intend them all to be imitated,²⁴² nor that every one should imitate him in the same way.²⁴³ Thus it was not necessary for Christians to imitate the miracles, although Bonaventure otherwise maintained a 'high' doctrine of imitation in allowing for a 'genuine if less perfect imitation' of the acts in which Jesus 'condescended to human infirmity, by flight from his enemies, by his bloody sweat in the Garden'.²⁴⁴ It was also not required that all believers become monks, for the lay, clerical, and monastic estates were each endowed with their own degree of imitation and were of equal value to God.²⁴⁵ Perfection had nothing to do with the state to which one had been called, but everything to do with the showing of charity in that situation.²⁴⁶ In other words perfection was relative rather than absolute, and necessarily so according to Bonaventure; for, building on the argument of his Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum, he asserted that

...just as in the natural order no one creature (or order of creatures) can reflect to the full the perfections of the Eternal Model, so in the order of grace no one individual or no one state of the Christian life can perfectly capture the perfection of the Word Incarnate. Therefore God in His providence has established various grades and states in His Church, in His holy people, that each might imitate, according to the measure of the giving of Christ some aspect of His life, actions, and holiness.²⁴⁷

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI

The Passion of Christ was the general focus of fourteenth and fifteenth century devotion, and thus of the imitatio Christi theme, which may be traced chronologically through Angela of Foligno, John Tauler, Henry Suso, Ludolph of Saxony, and Vincent Ferrier,²⁴⁸ to Thomas à Kempis. There it may be seen in his Sermons on the Lord's Life and Passion, as well as in the De Imitatione Christi.²⁴⁹ Imitatio Christi is only a secondary theme²⁵⁰ of that famous book, but as it has had more influence among

Catholics than any other writing, and can probably only be matched by John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress among English-speaking Protestants, it must be given more consideration than similar works of the medieval era.

The book,²⁵¹ which is a protest against 'the lukewarmness and negligence of our times', compared with 'the bright examples of the holy Fathers, in whom true perfection and religion shined'(1.18.6.1.), seeks a return to that kind of discipleship. It opens with a call to follow and imitate Christ through meditation on his life, in order to 'be truly enlightened, and be delivered from all blindness of heart', by an endeavour to conform one's life to his (1.1.1-2). This conformity to Christ crucified (1.25.6) involves self-denial (3.56), contempt for the world (1.1.3), and the taking of the royal way of the cross (2.12), which includes showing humble obedience (3.13), and patiently bearing sufferings (3.18,2.1.5) as Christ did.

It would be wrong to understand this approach as completely negative or ascetical, for there are elements of reigning with Christ as well as suffering with him (2.1.5;2.12.2) to be found. Thus Thomas à Kempis dwelt on the love and friendship of Jesus, its priority and outworkings (2.7-8, 3.5-6,cf.,3.34). He considered the possession of the mind of Christ (1.1.2) and the presence of Christ in the soul (3.1), devoting the whole of Book Four to the approach to Christ in the Eucharist. While of his central theme of willing and cheerful conformity to Christ crucified (2.12.5), he wrote.

In the cross is salvation; in the Cross is life; in the Cross is protection against our enemies; in the Cross is infusion of heavenly sweetness; in the Cross is strength of mind; in the Cross joy of spirit; in the Cross the height of virtue; in the Cross the perfection of sanctity.

Yet although much profit may be derived from particular paragraphs or individual sentences of the work - which probably accounts for its ubiquitous influence - consideration of the book as a whole leads to several criticisms being made. Besides the Protestant objection that Pauline themes of grace, justification by faith, and union with Christ are not given a proper place; or that there is more concern for man's love for Christ than Christ's for man,²⁵² there has been a growing Catholic awareness²⁵³ of limitations stemming from the context in which it was written. For the Devotio Moderna emphasis on the individual development of the soul, in reaction to intellectualism in theology and spirituality and decadent forms of religious life, together with its stress on withdrawal from the world,²⁵⁴ on contempt for the body, and on contemplative prayer, has less attraction for the twentieth century.

Fewer copies of the book are being read in an age which is rejecting a private-public dualism and looking for new forms of involvement with other people in the liturgies and communities of the church and the world, forms which transcend concern for the self,²⁵⁵ to which one might add that changes in the perception of the relation to the self to others result in changed understandings of obedience and responsibility. It may well be 'far safer to obey than to govern' (1.9.1), but the hierarchical structures which make this possible have been breaking down in secular society since the Reformation, and in the Catholic Church especially since Vatican II. In this respect it may be added that the result of this shift in perception has been that it has become possible to see concepts of obedience in the tradition other than the dominant one of unquestioning submission. This has happened both with regard to the religious life²⁵⁶ and on the question of obedience to civil authorities²⁵⁷ who break the moral law. Thus, to take but one example, Ignatius Loyola, who is notorious for spreading the ideal

of being 'as obedient as a corpse', has been re-assessed.²⁵⁸ It appears that his thought on the subject is generally very different from this, and in fact that the vow of obedience was only decided on as an administrative aid to the direction of a far-flung missionary effort. Before that, Loyola's earliest companions made all decisions jointly as a group, with full allowances for individual opinions.

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

Ignatius Loyola's focus on action may also be held responsible for omission of treatment of sanctifying grace and union with Christ²⁵⁹ in his portrayal of imitatio Christi in the Spiritual Exercises, yet that same focus on action was equally the cause of a new orientation. Instead of continuing to look backwards in the Devotio Moderna tradition, Ignatius came, after the spiritual illumination at Manresa, to look forwards in terms of cooperating in the unfinished work of Christ the King.²⁶⁰ Hence the life of Christ became 'the fundamental theological principle behind Christian spiritual life'²⁶¹ for him, and contemplation of the call of the King in the second week of the Exercises the central point.

Hence, the call to follow and imitate having been given (93,95),²⁶² the exercitant resolves to do so if it is God's will (98). In the week that follows he seeks to know whether he is called to imitate Christ in the hidden life of Nazareth (a life of obedience to the commandments, Lk 2.51-52), or in His staying behind in the Temple to be about His Father's business (a life of evangelical perfection according to the counsels, Lk 2.41-50). (135,cf.,271-2). Thus, 'Ignatius intended the life of Christ to be seen, within the context of salvation, as the great exemplar of a choice culminating in the cross'.²⁶³ The theme continues in the 'election' or decision at the end of the Second Week, in which the exercitant is intended to come in

'total resignation of self-will' and humility to an inclination 'to whatever corresponds better to the intentions and examples of Christ, assuming that God would appear to be equally well served'.²⁶⁴ So, even if a person's state of life is already fixed, there is still value in making sure that his one purpose is 'the greater praise and glory of our Lord God', (189).

Although Loyola's main emphasis was on the cross,²⁶⁵ he felt, like Thomas à Kempis, that following Christ in suffering was inseparable from following him in glory (95), and also believed that his prayer should be appropriate to the subject matter of his meditations. Hence, 'If I am contemplating the Resurrection, I will pray for a share in Christ's joy'. (48). Likewise, in the Fourth Week, one should

Reflect how the Divinity, hidden, as it seemed, in the Passion, now, in the sacred Resurrection, reappears and shows its effects in truth and holiness. (223).

There are other references to imitating Christ's behaviour at meal times (214), or considering oneself a servant at the Nativity (114), which are not so easy to appreciate. But they are only examples of a more general and more unusual requirement and possibility of using the five senses 'as Christ used his'. (248). Difficult although this is to understand, it does not appear to have been trivial for Loyola, as he made it part of the structure of the Exercises. Meditations should begin²⁶⁶ with the imagining of their physical or symbolic setting; while the five senses should be applied to the meditations at the end of the day, as is spelt out with regard to those on hell, the incarnation and the nativity.²⁶⁷ Yet the situation is complicated in that in at least two instances spiritual rather than physical senses were meant. For what was required was the tasting of a gnawing conscience (69), and the smelling of 'the indescribable fragrance' and the tasting of the 'boundless sweetness' of the divinity. (124).

Hence there quickly arose alternative schools of interpretation. One of

these understood the application of the senses as a simple form of prayer for every one and a useful relaxation after a day of strenuous intellectual meditation. The other held that such prayer was the climax of a day's meditation, being a sublime form only properly carried out by a few people.²⁶⁸ It would seem that there is truth in both views in the light of wider perspectives from other theologians. For, as with St. Bernard's principle that sensible love leads to spiritual love, it appears that one kind of application of the senses can lead to the other.²⁶⁹

Although the latter is a gift which cannot be acquired by any technique, it should be noted that it brings healing and integration to the personality. For what seems to happen is 'That small earthly thing conveyed by word image or gesture presents itself to us as the whole - God both hidden and disclosed',²⁷⁰ and perception of wholeness is inextricably bound up with the state of wholeness.

THE SPANISH SCHOOL

The conception of conformity to the will of God is the key-feature of the spiritual doctrine of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, for whom conformity is intimately bound up with that love of God which it both expresses and makes possible;²⁷¹

and it is against this background that their understanding of imitatio Christi must be seen, although it must be understood at once that their different approaches in meditation lead to different pictures of Christ. 'Teresa's Christ is much closer to that of the Synoptics, whereas John's Christ is closer to the Gospel of St. John and to St. Paul'.²⁷²

For John of the Cross quoted pseudo-Dionysius on perfection in the imitation of God²⁷³ and spoke of becoming God by participation,²⁷⁴ understanding the summit of contemplation to be meditation on God rather than on the mysteries of the humanity of Christ.²⁷⁵ The earthly mysteries take

their place in a wider perspective which includes the relation of Christ to creation,²⁷⁶ and so, compared with Teresa, 'the Lord's humanity is less prominent at first sight' and 'John's Christology, his vision of Christ in the mystery of the divine unity, and his reducing the mystical union to the prototype of the hypostatic union are more profound'.²⁷⁷

In contrast, Teresa had a concrete approach to the incidents recorded in the Gospels.²⁷⁸ So although she found herself unable to move from discursive meditation to contemplation,²⁷⁹ and had to wait for the gift of a mystical experience of Christ,²⁸⁰ she never allowed that there was any approach apart from that through his humanity,²⁸¹ by way of meditation, visions or the Eucharist.²⁸² Hence, her spiritual journey may be seen as one 'from the very elementary beginnings of exterior imitation and meditative reflection' to experience of 'the mystery of Christ present in the Church and in herself'.²⁸³ Her understanding of imitatio Christi will be explored in detail later,²⁸⁴ since her writings were minutely examined on the subject by Charles de Foucauld. But it may be noted that her specific references concern following Christ in the way of the cross and conformity to the will of the Father.

Similarly, John of the Cross called for imitation of Christ 'the sum of perfection and the sum of holiness',²⁸⁵ in terms of being 'crucified inwardly and outwardly with Christ' so that 'a man will live in this life with fullness and satisfaction of soul'.²⁸⁶ Thus imitatio Christi, which is opposed to any spirituality of sweetness and ease,²⁸⁷ both involves and produces detachment from one's own will and attachment to that of the Father. 'Progress is only possible through the imitation of Christ',²⁸⁸ for it is the way to the active purification of the senses which is the first stage on the way to the mystical goal of transforming union with God. Hence, the would-be entrant to the 'active night of the senses' is offered

two principles for the conquering of his desires.

First let him have a habitual desire to imitate Christ in everything that he does, conforming himself to His life; upon which he must meditate in order that he may know how to imitate it, and to behave in all things as Christ would behave. Secondly, in order that he may be able to do this well, every pleasure that presents itself to the senses, if it be not purely for the honour and glory of God, must be renounced and completely rejected for the love of Jesus Christ, who in this life had no other pleasure, neither desired such, than to do the will of his Father, which He called His meat and food.²⁸⁹

THE FRENCH SCHOOL

The importance of meditation for a life of imitation and union with Christ was affirmed by St. Francis de Sales,²⁹⁰ who was one of the influences on the French School of spirituality of the seventeenth century, although it drew more on St. Paul and St. Augustine.²⁹¹ The School laid stress on two complementary principles, Abnegation²⁹² (or self-renunciation) and adherence²⁹³ to (or union with) Christ. These followed from a participation in and a reproduction of all the mysteries of the life of Christ, which were understood as having present and permanent significance and life. For while Christ performed particular actions only once, they revealed dispositions and inward feelings which are eternal, being all bound up with the incarnation, in which

God perpetually makes a gift of his Son to man; this Son who is the gift of God himself gives himself incessantly to our humanity; the eternal Father unceasingly begets his Son in a new nature.²⁹⁴

In other words, 'the spirit of God which produces in the soul of Christ these permanent dispositions "expands in all" Christians, "and causes all of them to become participants ... in these same sentiments"'.²⁹⁵ Hence, 'this divine life flows from the head to the members of the mystical body of Jesus' and 'the faithful, from the time of holy baptism, reproduce in

themselves the death and the life of Jesus Christ,²⁹⁶ as they move through meditation to adoration, to communion, and then to cooperation with him.²⁹⁷

The mysteries may be approached in several ways, and the writers of the French School showed different preferences. Thus Bérulle was devoted to the mysteries of the earthly and heavenly life of Jesus per se, while through the perspective of concern for Christ as the model priest,²⁹⁸ Condren saw them all in terms of Christ's earthly and heavenly sacrifice, and Olier concentrated on participation in Christ in the Eucharist.²⁹⁹ As he understood it, through the Eucharist a priest's dispositions became changed into those of Christ, that he might become another Christ and a channel of his grace to men.³⁰⁰

As it has been said that 'When it exhorts us to participate in the mysteries of the Crucifixion, the Death, the Burial, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of Jesus, the French School merely comments on St. Paul',³⁰¹ those topics will be left on one side in order to consider the approach to the incarnation and the childhood of Jesus.³⁰² For as there is little biblical testimony to act as a control, one might expect a distorted or sentimental picture to emerge. Such decadence did ensue in the late eighteenth century and may be said to have lasted until around 1900, although various themes of the French School were revived in the 1870's when emphasis came to be put on the liturgy, the mystical body of Christ, and especially on sacrifice, mystical substitution and reparation.³⁰³ It may be argued that this reaction was a distortion of a different kind, but it cannot be said that the approach to the childhood of Jesus by Teresa of Lisieux-St. Teresa of the Child Jesus and the Holy Face -, or by the founders of the French School, was sentimental. For the childhood of Jesus primarily signifies, and meditation on it communicates, imitation in self-renunciation, and abandonment to God in trust and obedience.³⁰⁴

This follows naturally from the mystery of the Incarnation, which 'brings about in us a complete stripping and renunciation of ourselves, and in addition produces a reclothing with our Lord through total consecration to God'.³⁰⁵ For, as Olier understood it, the very moment that the humanity of Jesus 'was annihilated by being deprived of its own personality and became concerned only for the will of the Father, it acquired "the plenitude of the divinity, and an infinite capacity to receive all the operations of the Holy Spirit"'.³⁰⁶

Furthermore, what happened to Christ can happen to all the members of his body, for, 'at the moment of the Incarnation, our Lord consecrated himself entirely to the Father, himself and all his members'.³⁰⁷

The French School produced one notable imitator of Christ, St. Vincent de Paul, who based all his actions and all the advice he gave on what he thought Jesus would have done or said,³⁰⁸ but it should be remembered more for its more general effects: these were firstly to encourage an interior imitation of Christ's dispositions rather than an external copying of his actions, secondly, in stress on the Eucharist, to focus on the indwelling Christ and the means of grace provided for union with him, and thirdly, to advocate a method of coming to know Christ, through meditation following the liturgical calendar, although Olier was not satisfied with this piece-meal approach and had a feast of the Interior Life of our Lord instituted³⁰⁹ for consideration of all the mysteries and states together.

One might also consider more particular effects or derivatives. The theme of imitation of Christ as priest was to remain alive and be revived in the mid nineteenth century by Antoine Chevrier,³¹⁰ whose watchword of Sacerdos Alter Christus was accompanied by imitation of Christ and the apostles in poverty and common life. Focus on the interior life of

Christ and on his early life was followed, even if it was not completely caused by, devotion to the Sacred Heart and devotion to the Holy Family, both themes being strong in the spirituality of Charles de Foucauld; with the latter, in the guise of imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth, predominating. These, however are details in this survey of the whole patristic and Catholic understanding of imitatio Christi. They will be considered again in their place. Meanwhile, as there is nothing more to be said on the Catholic front, apart from mentioning the eighteenth century Italians Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Paul of the Cross, and St. Alphonsus de Ligouri,³¹¹ a summary must be attempted of Protestant understanding of the subject.

3 - PROTESTANT ASSESSMENTS

REFORMERS AND RADICALS

Martin Luther's thought on the imitatio Christi may be summarised in his brief statement 'It is not the imitation that makes sons; it is sonship that makes imitators',³¹² and it may be amplified by considering his contrasting of imitation and vocation. Thus he stood against the Catholic approach which seemed to undermine grace and justification by faith; and also against the Anabaptists, whose literal application of Jesus' words and example involved a withdrawal from society.

Luther's via media through the doctrine of the two kingdoms, which attempted to distinguish between the Christian acting as a citizen and as a private individual, has proved as disastrous for Protestant ethics as the post-Aquinas removal of the imitatio Christi from moral to ascetical theology has for Catholic ethics, yet his consideration of the imitatio Christi merits attention.

On the first point, 'It is not the imitation that makes sons', Luther observed that if Christ is seen only as an example he is no help for 'His life remains his own and does not as yet contribute anything',³¹³ to man. What is required is that Christ be seen rather as the 'exemplar' or prototype, both of God's saving activity and of man's state of salvation.³¹⁴ That is to say, Christ is not just a teacher, but 'he himself is everything that he proclaims'.³¹⁵ So man's end is participation in Christ, which involves being conformed to him.

As Thielicke expounds it, this is not a matter of developing in the humanistic virtues, but of sharing in 'the qualities of his relationship to the Father', in faith, righteousness, and peace.³¹⁶ So, for example, the focus is on peace with God rather than on peace with oneself,³¹⁷ although

the latter may follow from the former. Christ's qualities count as ours 'because in the state of faith we are as he is',³¹⁸ and only in the state of faith is this true, since the imago Dei is understood relationally rather than ontologically.³¹⁹ It does not belong to man by creation or grace. It is a matter of negative or positive relation to God. Or, to use a Pauline metaphor (2 Cor 3.17-18), it is not an image but a mirror which can only reflect the light that falls on it.³²⁰ In Lutheran terms, 'It does not live by the proprium of what it possesses, but by the alienum of what Christ is for it'.³²¹ Hence, 'The divine likeness of man ... present only in the prototype ...is...imparted...only" in Christ"'.³²²

So, 'it is sonship that makes imitators', for when the likeness is imparted, the Christian becomes free to serve his neighbour and follow Christ's example. If the Christian is a prince, this means that he should

...in his heart empty himself of his power and authority, and take unto himself the needs of his subjects, dealing with them as though they were his own needs. For this is what Christ did to us (Phil.2.7); and these are the proper works of Christian love.³²⁴

Hence, Christ is to be imitated in one's vocation, rather than the vocation be abandoned for a state of life which might be considered to intrinsically involve a closer imitation. For not only are the family and civil society as much places for Christian living as the church or the monastery, but it is better to think of the Christian life in terms of vocation³²⁵ rather than imitation. The latter can be unbiblical (through encouraging the idea of justification by works), irrelevant (as a static copying of the holiness of others without regard for the situation), or immoral (if one's spiritual perfection becomes an end rather than a means). Conversely, seeking one's vocation involves a lonely journey in faith which abandons the security of a pre-ordained pattern for prayer, perception of God's will, and action by the individual in each situation as it arises.

John Calvin was not as wary as Luther about using the term 'imitation'; boldly affirming that 'Only those can be called disciples of Christ who truly imitate Him and are prepared to follow in his footsteps'.³²⁶ Furthermore, 'He has given us a summary rule of discipleship so that we may know in what the imitation of Him essentially consists: namely self-denial and the willing bearing of His cross',³²⁷ although it must be remembered that 'The ability to bear the cross patiently flows from God alone, just as does the capacity for self-denial. He it is who imparts to us this power'.³²⁸ Hence, Calvin's major treatment³²⁹ of the theme was prefaced by a consideration of Rom 12.1 and Gal 2.20, and his general attitude³³⁰ was that conformity with Christ depended on union with him. For, as with Luther, imitation was seen as the fruit rather than the cause.

This fruit was shown in the qualities connected with self-denial and cross bearing: faith, patience, and obedience;³³¹ in sharing the sufferings of Christ;³³² and also in the renewal³³³ which issued not only in doing good to others, but in living an ordered life.³³⁴ For Christ had perfect self-control, moderation, and harmony between his two wills; and as the second Adam brought a restoration to 'true and substantial integrity',³³⁵ although its consummation has to await the eschaton.

An aspect of this stress on an ordered life was the requirement that a man live according to his calling,³³⁶ and not let himself be driven to the extremes of either denying the food, wine, flowers, colour, gold and silver, etc., of the material world; or of being obsessed by them.³³⁷ Instead, on the pilgrimage to the place where we will be no longer under 'the bondage of sin',³³⁸ (which is the sole limitation on this life, and the only motive for despising it), 'we are to use its blessings only in so far as they assist our progress, rather than retard it'.³³⁹

In contrast to both Calvin and Luther stood the Anabaptists, who understood that the Sermon on the Mount and the example of Jesus were to be followed literally and by every Christian, in a visibly holy kingdom of God on earth. Hence their watchword was not 'faith', but 'following',³⁴⁰ particularly in their refusal to take part in civil government, swear oaths or take up arms on behalf of the state.³⁴¹ In the latter two matters they were to be emulated by the seventeenth century Quaker leaders, Fox, Penn, and Barclay,³⁴² but their most well-known and influential, not to mention idiosyncratic heir was that nineteenth century 'gloomy Dane', Søren Kierkegaard.³⁴³

KIERKEGAARD AND SCHLEIERMACHER

Although one might say that Kierkegaard's expositions of the Sermon on the Mount probably reveal more about his existential concepts of choice, anxiety, and faith than anything else, these are not unrelated to his specific discussions of the imitatio Christi scattered throughout his works and journals. For Kierkegaard took the sectarian view that 'the church can be no more Christian than are the individuals who make it up; the church becomes Christian as those who constitute it become Christian',³⁴⁴ so it was to each believer that he addressed the following proposition and all that it entailed.

'Christianity is not doctrine, Christianity is a believing and a very particular kind of existing corresponding to it-imitation.'³⁴⁵

Consequently, what is required is not an objective appraisal of Christ, but a subjective response, not admiration (or mere preaching)³⁴⁶ of him, but imitation.³⁴⁷ For Kierkegaard saw that the problem of his day was not that of a return to a literalistic or monastic interpretation of the imitatio Christi, but the more subtle danger of a misunderstanding of

Luther's stress on faith and grace,³⁴⁸ a misunderstanding which put all the stress on enjoying the benefits which Christ brought,³⁴⁹ without giving a thought to discipleship and conformity to him.³⁵⁰

So although Kierkegaard was very careful to underline that Christ was the Redeemer as well as the Pattern,³⁵¹ that the Atonement was a fundamental necessity,³⁵² and that grace was prior to imitation,³⁵³ he felt that it was necessary to emphasise the latter. Yet the dialectical relation between the two was preserved in the realisation that knowledge of the demands of the Pattern drives a man to seek grace,³⁵⁴ and with God's help the Pattern is followed³⁵⁵ in love and gratitude.³⁵⁶ Such imitation in total³⁵⁷ commitment naturally brings one into collision with the world and the worldly church,³⁵⁸ so Christ is imitated in poverty³⁵⁹ and suffering.³⁶⁰ Although these are not pursued for their own sake, but are the inevitable consequence of witnessing for the truth,³⁶¹ which is the true imitatio Christi.

It is not easy to keep truths together in dialectical tension, as has been discovered by those who have followed Kierkegaard and tended to emphasise particular aspects of his thought. Some of the consequences of doing this will be discussed shortly, but a brief glance must be first given towards that other most influential figure in modern Protestant theology, Friedrich Schleiermacher.³⁶²

A near-contemporary of Kierkegaard, Schleiermacher was similarly concerned to correct an overemphasis in Lutheran thought, for he hoped to stand

...intermediate between a magical view, which destroys all naturalness in the continuous activity of Christ, and an empirical, which reduces it altogether to the level of ordinary daily experience, and thus does not make its supernatural beginning and its distinctive peculiarity the fundamental things in it.³⁶³

Yet it would be wrong 'to imagine that Christ must work simply in the ordinary way as teacher and example'. There must be reference to 'Christ in us', for 'the relation of teacher and pupil, like that of pattern and imitation, must always remain an external one'.³⁶⁴

However, despite his good intentions, Schleiermacher over-stressed the continuity of Christ with man,³⁶⁵ with notable consequences for his exposition of the doctrines of redemption and sanctification. For he wrote of redemption, or the assumption of the believer into Christ's God-consciousness³⁶⁶ (which he considered to be the one characteristic which made Christ a universal example),³⁶⁷

...the original activity of the Redeemer is best conceived as a pervasive influence which is received by its object in virtue of the free movement with which he turns himself to its attraction, just as we ascribe an attractive power to everyone to whose educative intellectual influence we gladly submit ourselves.³⁶⁸

Hence, since Christ's actions stem from the being of God in him, which is the result of 'the creative divine activity',

...the pervasive activity of Christ cannot establish itself in an individual without becoming person-forming in him too, for now all his activities are differently determined through the working of Christ in him, and even all impressions are differently received - which means that the personal self-consciousness too becomes altogether different.³⁶⁹

Thus there was a move from 'imitation' to 'identification' concepts of the imitatio Christi, but this psychological insight was achieved at the expense of theological definition. Or perhaps one should say that the observation was not empirical enough. For not only was such a subjective approach inadequate as a complete statement of the Christian doctrine of redemption,³⁷⁰ it was a naïve understanding of the human situation, for life involves internal or external conflict and falling short of one's objectives. It is not a matter of simple responses to single models, nor of continual progress in a chosen direction. Although

Schleiermacher's treatment of the doctrine of sanctification, in which sin, while admittedly remaining 'always something in the process of disappearance',³⁷¹ 'can win no new ground',³⁷² would seem to imply this.

BARTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY PERSPECTIVES

Interpretations of the imitatio Christi in twentieth century theology may be described as a combination of reaction against Schleiermacher and partial assimilation of Kierkegaard, leading either towards Bultmann's rejection of the concept or towards Bonhoeffer's affirmation of it. In many ways Karl Barth stood between them, both putting questions against the imitatio Christi and propounding his own concept of it: a typical question and answer neatly embodying the main currents of thought hostile to any idea of imitatio being the following.

Does the divine Sonship of Jesus Christ mean that God's revealing has now been transmitted as it were to the existence of the man Jesus of Nazareth, that this has thus become identical with it?

.....

The "fairest Lord Jesus" of mysticism, the "Saviour" of Pietism, Jesus the teacher of wisdom and friend of man in the Enlightenment, Jesus the quintessence of enhanced humanity in Schleiermacher, Jesus the embodiment of the idea of religion in Hegel and his school, Jesus a religious personality according to Carlyle's picture in the theology of the end of the nineteenth century - all this looks at least very dubiously like a profane and sacrilegious intrusion in the Old Testament sense in which it is thought possible to come to terms, as it were, with the presence of God in Christ and to take control of it with the help of certain conceptions deriving from the humanity. From the fact that such attempts at secularisation were not made in the New Testament we may see that here even Christ's humanity stands under the caveat of God's holiness, i.e., that the power and continuity in which the man Jesus of Nazareth was in fact the revealed Word according to the witness of the Evangelists and apostles consisted here too in the power and continuity of the divine action in the form and not in the continuity of this form as such.³⁷³

Barth's central objection must always be taken seriously. There is a real danger that perceptions derived from particular concepts may limit rather than expand both awareness of the presence of God in Christ and the deductions about Christian living made from this. For any concept is a filter at the same time as it is a focus, and the stronger the focus, the more effective the filter. This is inevitable, although the effect is not always obvious at the time if the perception coincides with cultural norms.

However, the really interesting points of Barth's understanding lie elsewhere. Firstly, his rejection of mysticism³⁷⁴ underlines a typical Protestant misunderstanding of its nature which has often resulted, as has been noted in Kierkegaard's era, in a void forming between faith and works, theology and ethics. The connection with mysticism may not have been appreciated then, but it cannot have been fortuitous that the next generation was to see the first of an almost unbroken line of works critical of mysticism. From Ritschl's Geschichte des Pietismus (1880-6) to Moltmann's Theology of Hope (1967), it has generally been seen as an undifferentiated pagan hellenic intrusion concerned with self-induced mystical states and self-acquired salvation. Such questionable goals being achieved, so it was thought, at the expense of proper understandings of prayer, sin, the incarnation and the atonement, the world, or eschatology. Although such criticisms may be made in specific instances, as a general indictment it is manifestly untenable, as consideration of the exposition of patristic and catholic approaches to the imitatio Christi will show. However, suspicions transmitted by such well-known figures as Harnack, Herrmann, Heiler, Brunner, Bultmann, Aulen, Nygren and Ebeling, still linger.³⁷⁵

As a matter of fact, it would not be difficult to meet Barth's requirement that any understanding of Christ should recognise that God's

revelation is not identical with the man Jesus of Nazareth. For whatever may be the shortcomings of some Protestant and secular thinking on this matter, Patristic and Catholic approaches have never been so circumscribed that they considered only the humanity of Christ. It might even be said that the approach of St. Bernard or the French School to the mysteries of Christ's life generally fulfils the wish Barth expressed at the end of that quotation. For what does specific focus on Jesus' baptism, transfiguration, death and resurrection point to, if it is not to a perception of 'the power and continuity of the divine action in the form and not in the continuity of the form as such'?

Whether this would be an adequate understanding or not is another question, for it must be asked how far such distinctions can be made. In what sense might it be correct to see the action of God as episodic, and how far do particular incursions of the divine affect the continuum of ordinary life? For Barth, unlike Schleiermacher, did not speak of an influence similar to that exerted by others, but of an instruction or direction which 'falls, as it were, vertically into the lives of those to whom it is given. It is thus effective with divine power. It is the sowing and the developing seed of new life'.³⁷⁶ However, apart from adding that this direction gives 'a willingness and readiness, a courage and joyfulness to be the new man',³⁷⁷ (to which one would suppose the picture of Jesus as the 'royal man',³⁷⁸ had some relevance), Barth remained concerned with the vertical 'call-gift-response' aspect. Although he did touch on the empirical consequences in the lament in contrast to Schleiermacher: 'How feeble is the relationship, even in the best of cases, between the great categories in which the conversion of man is described in the New Testament and the corresponding event in our own inner and outer life!',³⁷⁹ Barth may be acclaimed for being more realistic, but it would seem that he

did not make enough of the New Testament teaching on sanctification, partly³⁸⁰ perhaps because his 'vocation-call-obedience' outlook on the Christian life was oriented towards decisive moments rather than towards the effects on character of long-term commitment to decisions. This existential emphasis is the second significant point about his problem with the imitatio Christi: a problem, which it will be seen, Bultmann found totally insurmountable. However, although Barth used similar language about not depending on the solutions that were valid for yesterday's problems,³⁸¹ he could see some connection between what Jesus taught the disciples and what he might demand today. (Significantly, Barth was dealing with imitation of the disciples rather than imitation of Christ, since there is no addition possible to the work of Christ, only endorsement of this event by our action).³⁸² Hence, although Christ's command may go beyond what he has asked before,³⁸³ his teaching on detachment and taking up one's cross should be noted.³⁸⁴ 'The picture of these men and the way in which they were concretely ordered and concretely obeyed is one which ought to impress itself upon us', for 'the call to discipleship as it comes to us will always be shaped also by this correlated picture'.³⁸⁵ Yet the call is paramount, for discipleship is not a matter of engaging in certain kinds of activities. They have no meaning in themselves, and are only relevant as responses to particular commands.³⁸⁶

As has been said, Barth stood between Bultmann and Bonhoeffer in his thinking, yet their approaches involve other aspects of the imitatio Christi that have yet to be considered.

BULTMANN AND THE EXISTENTIAL VETO

In one sense of the word 'imitatio', if anyone is to be judged guilty of not seeing Christ as Redeemer as well as Pattern, it is Bultmann³⁸⁷

rather than Kierkegaard. For the former's interpretation of the cross may be more fairly called a reduction to a call to imitation in bearing one's own cross, since Bultmann's 'dread of mythology obstructs the view of the significance of the Cross as the once-happening event which makes our salvation possible'.³⁸⁸ So imitation in corresponding but unrelated actions is called for, in existential terms closer to those used by Jaspers than by Kierkegaard. For Kierkegaard's conceptions of the imitatio Christi as witnessing for the truth was more concerned with God's truth than his own truth, with faith in the traditional sense, rather than in Bultmann's interpretation of it as 'self-understanding'. However, as Bultmann himself understood the term 'imitatio Christi', it was a concept with which he would have nothing to do, because 'The New Testament never speaks at all of the imitation of Christ'.³⁸⁹ By this he meant several things which were interconnected in his thought, and which are worth extracting and examining separately.

In the immediate context of that categorical dismissal, Bultmann was opposing the Liberal Protestant school³⁹⁰ which saw Jesus as the exemplary first Christian rather than the Christ, and which thought in terms of faith in Christ's faith rather than faith in Christ. Unfortunately for them, nowhere in the Gospels is there mention of the faith of Jesus³⁹¹ (unless Mk 11.23 be allowed as the one exception).³⁹² More controversial, however, were other points that Bultmann added to his argument. Firstly, having admitted that Jesus' influence may have made faith attractive for those who personally knew him, Bultmann asserted that this was only possible for them, modern man's separation from Jesus in time being an unbridgeable barrier.³⁹³ For

The community did not preserve an image of the personality of Jesus at all. Such an image can only be reconstructed by the imagination from his proclamation, which is preserved in the Gospels. Such a reconstructed image remains highly subjective, and always crumbles under critical scepticism.³⁹⁴

It would only be partly relevant to question these statements³⁹⁵ as Bultmann went on to make a second assertion. This state of affairs was not, as it were, a regrettable historical accident, but positively related to the object of faith as it was understood in the earliest years of the church. For 'Paul is concerned neither with the human personality of Jesus....nor with the nature of Christ as a heavenly divine being. Faith certainly depends wholly on the person of Jesus, but in such a way that his person and work are seen as one'.³⁹⁶ Again, 'for Paul it is always the pre-existent Christ who is the pattern. And this means that he can be the pattern only as the already acknowledged Lord - it is not the exemplary character of the historical Jesus that makes him Lord'.³⁹⁷

Once again, not too long a pause should be made to question³⁹⁸ or qualify these statements, for it is at a third level that the root of Bultmann's interpretation lies. It is the nature of faith, that phenomenon upon which his 'entire theology is oriented',³⁹⁹ that controls his understanding of Christian ethics. Or to put it another way, ethics is reduced to love, and love to faith, and faith to self-understanding and decision.⁴⁰⁰ Both of these latter elements are important to man's existence, but Bultmann's own treatment of them can be faulted, primarily as self-understanding is subservient to decision in his thought. That is to say, self-understanding is not to do with understanding the self as it has developed, but to do with absolute transcendence of the past, or 'authenticity' in the present moment of decision⁴⁰¹ so that 'a genuine self seems not to exist at all'.⁴⁰² For

...the believer does not educate and develop himself into a more and more perfect believer, but is what he is as a believer, either entirely or not at all.⁴⁰³ The 'moments' of decision through which he passes may well be understood from the human point of view in the context of a development of character; but from the stand point of faith they are not in the context of a development process, or of some kind of progress; for they demand that the believer should always hazard his own self in them, to win or lose himself entirely. The encounter of the 'moment' seeks always to make him new, and to free him from himself, just as he comes into the situation of the 'now'.⁴⁰⁴

The trouble with this view is that life is not only a matter of making decisions, but also of working out one's commitment to those already taken.

Bultmann seems to have overlooked this and, as Roberts says,

...seems to be confused by the fact that there is no responsible life which does not involve making decisions, into thinking that there is no responsible act which is not a decision, or that the personal essence of every true act is a decision.⁴⁰⁵

Another objection that may be raised is that Bultmann, unlike Kierkegaard and Schleiermacher, has to deny that there can be any such thing as Christian education or training,⁴⁰⁶ for there is no such thing as Christian character. The light of Christ can never become 'a quality of our nature, a property of our character. Always it can only be received - and only be received again and again - as a gift':⁴⁰⁷ as with faith, so with ethics, for this Christ who is the gift to faith

...is the end of the law in that he gives man the freedom to live on a future basis and to live for the future, released from his past and from himself.⁴⁰⁸

By this Bultmann meant that Jesus' ethic was one of radical obedience unlimited by any code of commandments. It would never be possible to feel self-satisfied through having kept the rules, nor would it be possible to feel secure in the knowledge of having applied them correctly, for there are none. The Sermon on the Mount is not to be understood as a law code, but as showing through extreme examples that God demands that men be 'completely obedient'.⁴⁰⁹ For Jesus

...has no so-called individual or social ethics; the concept of an ideal or end is foreign to him; he sees only the individual man standing before the will of God.⁴¹⁰

Thus

The demands of the Sermon on the Mount are nothing but the demand for conversion and renewal of will; for they teach that the will of God is not fulfilled by fulfilling the commandments of law; on the contrary, God demands a good will.⁴¹¹

It is helpful to point out that God requires a good will rather than unthinking obedience to an external standard. Bultmann was surely correct in seeing that more was necessary, and in proposing 'radical obedience', which exists

...only when a man inwardly assents to what is required of him, when the thing commanded is seen as intrinsically God's command; when the whole man stands behind what he does; or better, when the whole man is in what he does, i.e. when he is not doing something obediently, but is essentially obedient.⁴¹²

Yet one would find it difficult to accept a dichotomy between will and commandment both as an actor and as an observer. If the second state is considered first, it will be seen that an observer would have problems in attempting to describe 'conversion and renewal of will' without reference to at least partial fulfilment of commands as evidence of it, even if the signs were ambiguous, although one may agree with Bultmann that one's focus ought to be on God rather than oneself,⁴¹³ concerned only with faith and obedience shown in love. For 'The man of faith is free for love which opens his eyes to what God requires of him in the moment'.⁴¹⁴

But other problems arise here for the actor, as Bultmann considered love, like obedience, to have no content. Love is not an ethical principle from which rules can be derived, but its demand 'confronts me concretely in my encounter with my "neighbour"'. Who my neighbour is and what I have to do for him I must perceive for myself at any given time, and it is in love

that I am able to do so. With a keen and sure eye, love discovers what there is to be done'.⁴¹⁵ 'Man is trusted and expected to see for himself what God commands'.⁴¹⁶ Likewise, Jesus refused to give ethical advice and 'always refers the questioner back to his own judgment'.⁴¹⁷

It might be thought that a man's judgment can be exercised in the application of principles, and this can be seen as an inadvertant feature of in some expositions of situation ethics as well as a deliberate proposal by other theorists,⁴¹⁸ but Bultmann would not allow it. For him even a tentative application of principles to a particular situation would 'relieve him of responsibility for the decision',⁴¹⁹ although he could also avoid an antinomian conclusion by stating that the 'law code is a real necessity for us' (even if that became reduced to the principle of not being self-assertive);⁴²⁰ and on one occasion at least, by making the dialectical point that 'formal obedience to the law as much is no radical obedience, though of course true obedience can exist in fulfillment of the law'.⁴²¹

BONHOEFFER AND 'CHRIST AS THE CENTRE OF HUMAN EXISTENCE'

Bultmann's line of thought on the ethics of Jesus was very closely followed by Dietrich Bonhoeffer⁴²² in his earliest consideration of the Sermon on the Mount.⁴²³ But what was an unalterable conclusion for the former, became a starting point for the thinking of the latter. Where that thinking might have ended will never be known, since Bonhoeffer's execution cut short his Ethics and his Letters and Papers from Prison; but enough material survives to show that he intended to put Christ at the centre of everything and take his manhood seriously.⁴²⁴ Hence, although 'The character of the statement about his centrality is not psychological, but ontological-theological', because 'Christ is our centre even when he stands on the periphery of our consciousness', or 'when Christian piety is

forced to the periphery of our being',⁴²⁵ the imitatio Christi was both valid and significant for Bonhoeffer. Indeed, he realised that it was not only valid and significant, but theologically (if not psychologically) necessary, for

An image needs a living object, and a copy can only be formed from a model. Either man models himself on the god of his own invention, or the true and living God moulds the human form into his image.⁴²⁶

It must be asked whether this statement of 1937 contradicts the one before, which dates from 1933. For it seems that there is no longer an attempt to make a dichotomy between the ontological-theological and the psychological. One must be hesitant in what one concludes from a single quotation, but it does appear that there was a progression in Bonhoeffer's thought which allowed the psychological to acquire significance. For besides the hint of 1940 (to be noted below) about the effects of meditation, there is the clear statement in the 1944 'Outline for a Book' on the value of examples. The church, he asserted,

...must not underestimate the importance of human example (which has its origin in the humanity of Jesus and is so important in Paul's teaching); it is not abstract argument, but examples that gives its word emphasis and power. (I hope to take up later this subject of 'example' and its place in the New Testament; it is something that we have almost entirely forgotten.⁴²⁷

However, 'example' is otherwise a largely unconscious and subsidiary aspect of Bonhoeffer's considered understanding of the imitatio Christi, which followed the themes of participation and conformation; although he parted company with Luther in his attempt to integrate all human existence rather than separate it into different spheres. It is this latter aspect of his approach that has encouraged the assessment that his concept of the imitatio Christi was fresh and significant,⁴²⁸ yet unclear and fragmentary⁴²⁹ because unfinished.

For both these reasons it is necessary to explore and try to explain his thinking, and it is inevitable that the presentation of an interpretation of a theologian about whom there is no accepted critical consensus will be extended. Yet this is not a matter to be regretted, for Bonhoeffer holds as an important place in contemporary Protestant spirituality as De Foucauld does in Catholic thinking. It may even be speculated that if they had lived at the same time, instead of being separated by the two World Wars, that their outlooks would have been even more similar than they are. But speculations or comparisons can only come after Bonhoeffer has been allowed to speak for himself.

Perhaps the most important question to be asked about Bonhoeffer's concept of the imitatio Christi is whether it is only 'more or less...the melancholy theology of the North German plains', as Barth⁴³⁰ put it; or whether he managed to incorporate a theologia gloriae with the traditional Lutheran theologia crucis. The latter would certainly seem to have been Bonhoeffer's intention all along, for The Cost of Discipleship (1937),⁴³¹ chapters three and four of the Ethics (1940-1),⁴³² and the projected 'Outline for a Book' (1944),⁴³³ all speak of the sharing of Jesus' incarnation, cross and resurrection. These writings also stand as commentaries on, and developments of, his 1935 statement that 'The restoration of the Church must surely depend on a new kind of monasticism, having nothing in common with the old but a life of uncompromising adherence to the Sermon on the Mount in imitation⁴³⁴ of Christ',⁴³⁵ and his description of the aim of the Finkenwalde seminary as 'not the seclusion of monastery, but a place of the deepest inward concentration for service outside'.⁴³⁶ Thus the question 'What is the imitation of Christ?' is combined with another, 'Where is it to be lived?', and the answer to the first springs out of the answer to the second.

Although Finkenwalde lived up to its aim enough to attract closure by order of Himmler in September, 1937, it would seem that Bonhoeffer came to feel that even temporary withdrawal from the world, for the sake of the world, had its dangers if it in any way encouraged the preservation of the 'two kingdoms' outlook. This separated the sacred and the secular, so that man 'seeks Christ without the world, or he seeks the world without ChristOr he tries to stand in both spaces at once and thereby becomes the man of eternal conflict'.⁴³⁷ But, 'There are not two realities, but only one reality, and that is the reality of God, which has become manifest in Christ in the reality of the world'.⁴³⁸

Thus neither a secular nor a monastic vocation are satisfactory as self-contained programmes for living. In the former case it should be remembered that 'the calling, in the New Testament sense, is never a sanctifying of worldly institutions as such'.⁴³⁹ While in the alternative 'vain endeavour to escape from the world no serious consideration is given either to the 'no' of God, which is addressed to the whole world, including the monastery, or to God's 'yes' in which He reconciles the world with Himself'.⁴⁴⁰ This way of thinking leads naturally to Bonhoeffer's famous definition of a Christian.

To be a Christian does not mean to be religious in a particular way, to make something out of oneself (a sinner, a penitent or a saint) on the basis of some method or other, but to be a man - ('as Jesus was a man, in contrast to ... John the Baptist)⁴⁴¹ - not a type of man but the man Christ creates in us. It is not the religious act that makes the Christian, but participation in the sufferings of God in the secular life.⁴⁴²

This involves having not 'the shallow and banal this-sidedness of the enlightened, the busy, the comfortable or the lascivious, but the profound this-sidedness, which is characterised by discipline and the constant knowledge of death and resurrection'.⁴⁴³ So one's focus is not on one's own successes or failures - which Bonhoeffer recognised as a

danger of The Cost of Discipleship - but on God's mercy and the sharing of His sufferings in the world.⁴⁴⁴

It is difficult to see how or where Bonhoeffer would identify the reality of the world which 'is always already sustained, accepted, and reconciled in the reality of God'⁴⁴⁵ and distinguish between Christian worldliness and non-Christian worldliness so as to 'avoid naturalism or actualism',⁴⁴⁶ while the meaning of the 'secret discipline' associated with this distinction is debatable.⁴⁴⁷ Although it refers to the disciplined preservation of a secret, rather than to a discipline carried out in secret, there seems to be a connection between the two concepts. For if it is understood that the need to preserve the church's traditional language about doctrine and worship arises from the fact that it is not yet opportune to translate it into non-religious language (as opposed to the alternative views that is never translatable, or that the correct words have not yet been found), this interpretation - based on Bonhoeffer's linking secret discipline with his distinction between ultimate and penultimate⁴⁴⁸ - can be linked with the rejected idea that 'secret discipline' refers to the maintenance of one's devotional life. This follows from a consideration of the analogy he uses in the light of an observation made elsewhere.

The analogy⁴⁴⁹ is made with the pastoral situation in which there are times when more good is achieved by keeping silent than by speaking, by sharing a sorrow rather than applying a biblical 'answer' to it. The question of how one decides which approach to take in a particular situation is not dealt with, in the analogy, but it would appear that meaningful speech and meaningful silence (as opposed to 'spiritual chatter') come, as Bonhoeffer observed of the priests in Bernanos' novels, from the depths of 'daily, personal correspondence with the crucified Jesus Christ'. He continued, 'One might also say that it has to do with whether or not we

judge ourselves daily with the picture of the crucified Jesus Christ himself, and allow ourselves to be called to repentance'.⁴⁵⁰ Consequently, there would be no difficulty in relating this interpretation to a further one which would maintain that the 'secret discipline' is not only associated with 'this-sidedness', but the 'secret' is its content. Jesus who suffers in the world is Lord over it and the Christian shares in this Lordship 'manifested only indirectly, through powerlessness, submission, and the discipline and humility of holding one's peace'.⁴⁵¹

Yet this is not simply a theologia crucis, for Bonhoeffer distinguished his outlook from Kierkegaard's by seeing the world positively. Sharing in the suffering of God is not the same as sharing in the sufferings of the world as if the cross was a principle of its structure. The Old Testament blessing is not excluded by the cross.⁴⁵² The penultimate has value. God's 'no' is accompanied by his 'yes'.⁴⁵³ Similarly, the Christian participates in Jesus who is 'there only for others' and finds that out of the freedom from self, out of 'being there for others' to the point of death emerges 'omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence'.⁴⁵⁴ Physical death may be involved, but death to the self was more fundamental for Bonhoeffer.

We die ...when we love Christ and the brethren from the bottom of our hearts for love is total surrender to what a man lovesIt should be our prayer...that death only comes to us from outside when we have been made ready for it by this our own death.⁴⁵⁵

So Bonhoeffer wrote both of death and resurrection. 'When Christ calls a man, he bids him come and die', yet 'Discipleship means joy', for 'Jesus asks nothing of us without giving us the strength to perform it, His command never seeks to destroy life, but to foster, strengthen and heal it'.⁴⁵⁶ The reflection of Jesus' glory 'will shine forth in us even in this life, even as we share his agony and bear his cross', for we are

'transformed into the same image from glory to glory' (2 Cor 3.18)'.⁴⁵⁷
 Christ 'shapes men in conformity with Himself', incarnate, crucified and risen.⁴⁵⁸ Thus Bonhoeffer came to the definition 'Christian life means being a man through the efficacy of the incarnation; it means being sentenced and pardoned through the efficacy of the cross; and it means living a new life through the efficacy of the resurrection'.⁴⁵⁹

Each of these elements, in which we learn of God's love, judgement and 'will for a new world',⁴⁶⁰ respectively, are necessary and inseparable. For an incarnational ethic by itself would lead to a baptism of the status quo; while systems absolutising the cross or the resurrection 'would fall victim to radicalism and enthusiasm. Only in the unity is the conflict resolved'.⁴⁶¹ Thus a Christian, in being 'conformed with the Risen One', is 'a new man before God...in the midst of the old he is new'.⁴⁶² But man remains man', and 'the resurrection does not annul the penultimate'.⁴⁶³

It is therefore not a vain imitation or repetition of Christ's form but Christ's form itself which takes form in man. And again, man is not transformed into a form which is alien to him, the form of God, but into his own form, the form which is essentially proper to him. Man becomes man because God became man.⁴⁶⁴

Hence neither man's integrity as an individual, nor his relation to other people is violated. In fact it is enhanced, for Bonhoeffer asserted that 'Through fellowship and communion with the incarnate Lord, we recover our true humanity, and at the same time ... retrieve our solidarity with the whole human race'.⁴⁶⁵

What does this 'true humanity' and 'solidarity' involve? In part, it is a matter of 'participation in the divine reality which is revealed in Christ'.⁴⁶⁶ In an ontological-theological sense, there is also an ethical imitatio Christi which follows from it: an imitation which is always consequent on continued communion, for 'that unity with the origin

which is regained in Jesus,⁴⁶⁷ must always be recovered anew. Thus Bonhoeffer wrote, in words echoing the Pauline understanding of the corporate Christ, that

Jesus was not the individual, desiring to achieve a perfection of his own but He lived only as the one who has taken up into Himself and who bears within Himself the selves of all men....In Him there is fulfilled what the living, the action and the suffering of men ought to be. In this real deputyship which constitutes His human existence He is the responsible person par excellence.⁴⁶⁸

Therefore, 'Through Jesus Christ it becomes an essential part of responsible action that the man who is without sin loves selflessly and for that reason incurs guilt',⁴⁶⁹ as when telling a lie to protect a friend from a murderer. He also accepts freedom, for that is part of what Bonhoeffer understood as true deputyship, which must consider responsibilities to society in general and avoid making absolutes out of personal predilections or one's neighbour's immediate need.⁴⁷⁰ So, 'the responsible man acts in the freedom of his own self, without the support of men, circumstances or principles, but with a due consideration for the given human and general conditions and for the relevant questions of principle'.⁴⁷¹ This is because 'The point of departure for Christian ethics is not the reality of one's own self, or the reality of the world; nor is it the reality of standards and values. It is the reality of God as He reveals Himself in Jesus Christ'.⁴⁷² For 'Since God became man in Christ all thought about man without Christ has been a barren abstraction'.⁴⁷³

How can man be responsible and free? The answer is that this is possible, and only possible, in communion with and in imitation of Christ. For man is responsible to Christ, who cannot be known apart from his will,⁴⁷⁴ and 'Jesus stands before God as one who is both obedient and free'.⁴⁷⁵ So, although there is no 'series of Christian types to be imitated according to choice',⁴⁷⁶ which Bonhoeffer saw as involving slavery to oneself rather

than freedom, there is imitation of Christ in free obedience. An obedience which is freely given, as Jesus freely obeyed the Father, an obedience which is allowed freedom in its application, and an obedience which results in freedom. For while the man of duty (who is simply obedient) and the genius (who is simply free) 'carry their justification within themselves. The man of responsibility stands between obligation and freedom (and finds his justification) solely in Him who put him in this (humanly possible) situation and who requires this deed of him'.⁴⁷⁷

It is in the humanly impossible situation that the general rhythm of Christ's life is reproduced. The rhythm of death and resurrection reflecting mankind's separation from and reconciliation in 'Jesus Christ its origin, its essence and its goal'.⁴⁷⁸ For 'We "live" when, in our encounter with men and with God, the 'yes' and the 'no' are combined in a unity of contradictions, in selfless self-assertion, in self-assertion in the sacrifice of ourselves to God and to men'.⁴⁷⁹

Thus, as Bonhoeffer understood it, man in Christ and like Christ, is called to show His incarnation, death and resurrection, in the ambiguous theatre of human existence. There is no blueprint either for planning action or for evaluating it, man simply has to follow in faith, love and service. But, as he knows that God is concerned with the whole of life, he believes that no corner of it will be beyond his own concern. For

Jesus Christ's claim to Lordship, which is proclaimed by the Church, means at the same time the emancipation of family, culture and government for the realisation of their own essential character which has its foundation in Christ'.⁴⁸⁰

Is this simply a Christological claim like Col 1.16f., or can more specific guidance for thought and action be deduced from it? In the sense that a claim to Lordship only has significance when the character of the Lord involved is known, Bonhoeffer gave an answer when he implied that the

Christian shares in this Lordship which is 'manifested only indirectly through powerlessness, submission, and the discipline and humility of holding one's peace'.⁴⁸¹ But other theologians have gone further than this in asserting that there is a basis in Christology rather than in creation alone for social ethics. Such thinking has not, by its very nature, been articulated at length. But a brief summary will show the direction in which it leads as an aspect of the imitatio Christi.

Reinhold Niebuhr went beyond Barth and Bultmann to affirm that Christ revealed a norm, of the law of love which is the law of life, to be approximated in the life of the community.⁴⁸² Although he was just as aware as they were that the conditions of human existence did only allow for an approximation, Reinhold believed that 'the same suffering love, the same Agape of Christ which reveals the divine mercy',⁴⁸³ should be translated into love and justice in society.

His brother, H. Richard Niebuhr, went a step further to suggest that 'With the use of the symbolic form of Jesus Christ, the Christian - consciously or unconsciously - apprehends, interprets, and evaluates his fellow man' himself and God and His purposes.⁴⁸⁴ This is imitation of the perception of Christ, which H.R. Niebuhr characterised and distinguished in the following way.

Monotheistic idealism says: "Remember God's plan for your life". Monistic deontology commands: "Obey God's law in all your obedience to finite rules". Responsibility affirms: "God is acting in all actions upon you. So respond to all actions upon you as to respond to his Actions".⁴⁸⁵

As Christ did.⁴⁸⁶

Although it is clear that this is not to be understood as resignation or fatalism, since God is to be seen as father and ruler rather than maker or designer,⁴⁸⁷ H.R. Niebuhr did not leave a systematic outline

of what his approach involved. However, Gustafson has consciously built on this foundation, pointing out that the consequences of having 'confidence in God, in the goodness of the ultimate power and source of life, and in the power of goodness' is that 'one will move with a fundamental confidence in the world, with an openness toward the world, with a sensitivity to change and the opportunities it provides, and without a debilitating despair'.⁴⁸⁸

This outlook also affects one's dispositions and intentions. In fact, as Gustafson develops his ideas in a later book (which is formally more concerned with the work of God in creation rather than in redemption), one may argue that 'the theme of the imitation of God'⁴⁸⁹ is a central one for Christian ethics, in that experience of God's action both moves and requires one to do similar things for other people. For certain senses are evoked, sustained and renewed through experience of God, and 'in turn evoke, sustain and renew moral seriousness and thus provide reasons of the mind and heart for moral life'.⁴⁹⁰ Hence,⁴⁹¹ to take an important although not necessarily exhaustive group of examples, awareness of radical dependence points to the finitude that should make one self-critical, tentative in one's judgments, but also trusting. Gratitude for God's goodness is a motive, a power, and a guide for action towards other people. A sense of repentance turns one from one's own preoccupations to consider God's purposes, and an awareness of His preservation of the world engenders a sense of obligation and personal and social responsibility for it. The sense of possibility stemming from God's continuing action in creation and redemption gives hope and aids imaginative response to others, while consideration of God's purpose keeps the point of life in view and guides one through everything towards it.

A similar approach, but this time through the intellect rather than the person as a whole, is made by Wogaman, who suggests that A Christian Method of Moral Judgment⁴⁹² is to proceed through the use of certain presumptions. He points out that all moral reasoning involves making presumptions or presuppositions, and argues for the adoption of specifically Christian ones. Thus there are positive presumptions that creation is good and that people are all equal, individually significant, and one family before God. There are negative presumptions arising from man's finitude and sin. Consequently there are also polar moral presumptions in which truths about man's individual and social nature, freedom and responsibility, subsidiarity and universality, conservation and innovation, optimism and pessimism have to be held together in tension. It is also necessary to criticise the concepts of authority that are held in society, and evaluate the implications of adopting particular political or economic models of man.

So, as another writer puts it,

In an important sense such discussions are to be conducted in the imitation of Christ who through a number of controversial incidents in the gospels showed himself concerned, not to deliver specific answers to questions that were asked of him involving matters like divorce, taxation and justice in religious and political affairs, but to cause his questioners to reflect radically upon the nature and purpose of human sexuality, society and personal relations.⁴⁹³

This quotation is also apposite as a reminder that in many ways Christ is a question rather than an answer, consequently any approach to the imitatio Christi which attempts to domesticate him to some preconceived pattern is quite beside the point. However, some attempt must now be made to assess what Patristic, Catholic, and Protestant thought has made of the idea, so that problems can be identified and possible future developments suggested.

4 - CONCLUSION : PERENNIAL PROBLEMS AND WAYS FORWARD

This outline of the fortunes of the doctrine of the imitatio Christi in Christian thought has highlighted the fact that its content, context, and application are all of equal significance for the establishment of its meaning and the assessment of its validity. It may also be observed that whenever consideration of the whole action of God in Christ is set aside for the giving of normative significance to a particular part of it, apparent gains in relevance turn out to be distortions which sooner or later reveal themselves to be dead ends. Paradoxically, perhaps, while this criticism can be levelled at both Catholic and Protestant approaches, it is of greater import in regard to the latter.

For although the split between theology and ethics in both traditions vitiates the full application of the doctrine in either of them, in its weakened form it seems to have greater potential vitality in the Catholic. This is because the imitatio Christi's continued existence in ascetical-mystical theology⁴⁹⁴ concerns the 'being' which informs all 'doing', as much as any specific 'doing'. In contrast to this, insofar as Protestant thought makes anything of the doctrine at all, it is considered as falling in the ethical domain and either propounded or rejected on the level of 'doing' rather than 'being'; although, as has been seen from the New Testament witness, this is both an unnecessary distinction and an unnecessary choice.

Symptomatic of the difference between the two outlooks is the following development which could only come from a Protestant background. In looking for 'a model of the holy consistent with the secular universe', Davies⁴⁹⁵ asserts that 'if the holy is translated into human terms in Jesus, then every facet of his life may disclose the holy'. He then goes on to

make many pertinent remarks about the concern of holiness for 'humanization, restoring dignity, wholeness, and establishing shalōm',⁴⁹⁶ under conditions of 'the tension between the "already" and the "not yet" ',⁴⁹⁷ but manages to complete his characterisation of Jesus without a single reference (there or anywhere else in the book) to his miracles or personal prayer life. One might expect some attempt to assess or reinterpret these aspects of Jesus' life and teaching, but they are simply passed over in silence because there has been an 'exit from the sacral universe'.⁴⁹⁸

There is no need to point out how much of the traditional understanding of the heart of the imitatio Christi is undercut by such an approach, but a pause must be made to consider this idea of an 'exit from the sacral universe'. For it assumes that there is a psychological if not metaphysical discontinuity between the world of today and the 'Age of Faith' of yesterday. This particular assumption may be questioned on the grounds of other assessments of both the so-called 'Age of Faith', and of the nature of today's perception of reality, for some people at least can discern 'signals of transcendence', if not A Rumour of Angels⁴⁹⁹ in secular society.

But even if it is placing too much value on the outlook of the present moment to argue for historical discontinuity, it would seem that the slightly different claim that historical distance rules out any form of the imitatio Christi warrants more consideration. An answer to this challenge may be offered both on the theoretical and the practical level. On the theoretical plane one may counter the argument (as articulated by Bultmann) in the following way.

The problem of the separation of our own time from that of Jesus can be met at several points. The first, which Kierkegaard underlined, is that time is not a decisive factor for faith in the sense that actually living with Jesus in Palestine was no guarantee of perception and response

to him. The second, is that Christian faith is concerned with the living Lord and not solely with a past historical event, of which, as Lessing observed, 'The problem is that this proof of the spirit and of power no longer has any spirit or power, but has sunk to the level of human testimonies of spirit and power'.⁵⁰⁰ A third consideration to be weighed is that even if the second point is set aside, Lessing's judgment is not the only possible one. This can be more clearly seen perhaps from the way in which Bultmann put it with regard to the Cross.

As far as the first preachers of the gospel are concerned... the cross was the cross of him with whom they had lived in personal intercourse. The cross was an experience of their own lives. It presented them with a question and it disclosed to them its meaning. But for us this personal connection cannot be reproduced. For us the cross cannot disclose its own meaning: it is an event of the past. We can never recover it as an event in our own lives. All we know of it is derived from historical report.⁵⁰¹

While it is true that no one living in the post-Easter era can experience the cross precisely as it was first experienced, to admit this is not to say that it cannot be a question or disclose its meaning. It may ask more questions or disclose more meanings through the mediation of the experience of the Christian community or that of the individual being confronted by it, but there is no reason why there should not be continuity with the original situation. For although Bultmann's warnings of the dangers of subjectivity must always be heeded, it is no longer possible to make such a polarisation between the historic Christ and the kerygmatic Christ that all reconstructed images are necessarily and inevitably arbitrary. The claim that 'The community did not preserve an image of the personality of Jesus at all',⁵⁰² can only be accepted if it means that there is no material available to us for the reconstruction of a psychological profile of his development.⁵⁰³ It is too sweeping a judgment if it is to be understood as saying that there is no information about 'Jesus' self-

consciousness and spiritual experience at some points in his ministry'.⁵⁰⁴ It is also at least plausible that certain of Jesus' attitudes, such as his concern for women, children and animals,⁵⁰⁵ were genuinely observed and remembered for their own sake, with no theological motive beyond that of a (possibly as yet unconscious) desire of imitation.

Be that as it may, a fourth point should be made in this regard as far as Bultmann is concerned. In asserting that 'Such an image can only be reconstructed by the imagination from his proclamation, which is preserved in the Gospels',⁵⁰⁶ he was saying what he more clearly stated in Jesus and the Word,⁵⁰⁷ that it was only Jesus' words that were significant. Such separation of word and deed seems a very arbitrary truncation of the material to be considered for understanding anyone, as they interpret each other. It might be said in support of Bultmann that Jesus was unique in that his deeds were consistent with his words (although it would be significant just to establish that fact), but it would perhaps be more to the point to note two other things. Some of Jesus' actions, that is, the miracles, were a problem for Bultmann,⁵⁰⁸ as they were indeed for Fuchs⁵⁰⁹ who ignored them while criticising Bultmann on the basic issue. The more general point is that none of Jesus' actions could have an exemplary value in an ethic of radical obedience. Commands are not imitated.

However, if it is accepted that through patient historical criticism the traditions of Jesus' words and deeds may be allowed a degree of reliability and continuity which can act as a control on reconstructions of Jesus' image within the limits and purpose of the Gospel genre, that is, for commitment to discipleship rather than detached appraisal, then a new possibility is open. Subjectivity, or imitation, in the sense of the representation to oneself which precedes imitation by oneself, can be seen in a new light.

In the words of a philosopher of history

...history may imitate, may transform into experience, what never before has been experienced. Much history is the apprehension of aspects, relations, totalities, universals, laws, which in their period, it was historically impossible to apprehend or which it is impossible either physically or in principle to apprehend either contemporaneously or directly. But this apprehension... is nonetheless imitation; for these aspects (etc) really were there, in one mode or another, in the transactions; and the historian does strive to repeat them even though his own experience should be the first finite experience into which they have ever entered.⁵¹⁰

If this is felt to be too abstract, the same point can be made more specifically in two well-known quotations from Erasmus and Albert Schweitzer, the latter being particularly apposite as it comes from the pen of the chief critic of the Liberal lives of Jesus.

These gospels give you back the living image of the sacred mind of Christ. They present Christ in his own person speaking, healing, dying, rising again. In a word, they so give the whole presence of Christ that you would see him less clearly if you beheld him face to face with your eyes.⁵¹¹

Schweitzer could not be so confident, or rather, he could not place his confidence in the same place. But, (here one may refer back to the answer to Lessing's objection concerning the waning influence of past events), he was able to affirm that Jesus

...comes to us as One unknown, without a name, as of old, by the lake-side, He came to those men who knew Him not. He speaks to us the same word: "Follow thou me!" and sets us to the tasks which He has to fulfill for our time. He commands. And to those who obey Him, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in His fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience Who He is.⁵¹²

On this practical level, which seems to be where Schweitzer found an answer or a context for his theoretical problems, the question of historical discontinuity or distance may be explored in the life and spirituality of the subject of this thesis, Charles de Foucauld. For not

only is he significant as one of the few people in modern times to make the imitatio Christi a specific and detailed rule of life, he is also interesting for beginning it in the place which one might think would immediately prove the whole foundation and perspective of his interpretation to be misconceived and irrelevant. For how could living in a garden shed at Nazareth point to anything more than an attempt at a puerile archaeological reconstruction of the life of Jesus?

How indeed? As the answer to that question took half a life-time to take shape in De Foucauld's mind, it will occupy the rest of this study. When certain necessary biographical landmarks have been indicated, the main emphasis will fall on questions that have never been far below the surface of all discussion up to this point. When applied to De Foucauld they become the following. Did his interpretation of scripture and tradition provide an adequate basis for a doctrine of the imitatio Christi? Did he understand it as an external or internal mimesis, and was it seen as an ascetical achievement or a mystical gift? Did it look forwards or backwards? Was it an open or closed option?

CHAPTER TWO : NOTES

IMITATION OF CHRIST

1 - THE NEW TESTAMENT WITNESS

THE PROBLEM

1. R. Bultmann, Faith and Understanding (London:SCM Press, 1969), pp.267, 277.
2. E.J. Tinsley, The Imitation of God in Christ (London:SCM Press, 1960), p.7.
3. E. Osborn, Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.23.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. This is also a reaction against those like Schleiermacher who claim too much for sanctification, but Bultmann took it to the extreme of denying any interest in character formation or religious education; either in the New Testament (Theology of the New Testament II, London:SCM Press, 1955, p.222), or for the church today (Glauben und Verstehen, IV, p.53; in R.C. Roberts, Rudolf Bultmann's Theology: A Critical Interpretation (London SPCK, 1976) p.285.
7. R. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, 1926 (London: Fontana 1958), pp.15, 151ff, an approach followed in G. Bornkamm Jesus of Nazareth (London: Hodder, 1960). This outlook is also due to reaction against the liberal lives of Jesus which went beyond the evidence and so revealed more about their authors than about Jesus.
8. cf R. Bultmann, Essays Philosophical and Theological (London: SCM Press, 1955) P.158.
K. Barth, Church Dogmatics, IV. 2 p.523.
9. Bultmann, Theology II, 222, explicitly; Barth and other 'Word of God' theologians, more generally.
10. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, pp.61, 68, 72; Theology, I, p.19, History and Eschatology (Edinburgh: University Press, 1957) p.98; Essays Philosophical and Theological, pp.79f.
11. W. Michaelis, 'μυρίοι' TDNT, IV, pp.659-674; 671f.

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12. W.M. Swartley, 'The Imitatio Christi in the Ignatian Letters' Vigilae Christianae 27 (1973) 81-103; 85f., referring to Michaelis, op.cit.; E. Larsson, Christus als Vorbild. (Uppsala, 1962); A. Oepke, 'Nachfolge und Nachahmung Christi im Neuen Testament', Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung 71 (1938) 850-57, 866-72.
13. On Holy Virginity, 27.
14. The only two verses allowed by A. Schulz, Nachfolgen und Nachahmen (Munich: Koesel-Verlag, 1962), p.335.
15. Mk 8.34, Mt 10.38, Lk 14.27; cf., Jn 12.25f.
16. R. Thysman, 'L' Ethique de l'imitation du Christ dans le nouveau testament situation, notations et variations du thème', Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis 42 (1966) 138-175; 144-8.
17. H.D. Betz, Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi Im Neuen Testament (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1967) p.186f.
18. With the exception of Jn 13, 36; 21.19, 22; Rev 14.4.
19. Mk 10.42-45; Mt 20.24-28; Lk 22.25-27.
20. Jn 13.31-14.3.
21. Thysman, op.cit., p.150.
22. Ibid., pp.153f.
23. Ibid., p.151f.
24. Schulz, op.cit., pp.176-9; cf., C. Spicq Theologie Morale du Nouveau Testament, II (Paris: Lecoffre 1965) 712f.
- 24a. Spicq, op.cit., p.714.
25. Thysman, op.cit., p.155f.
26. W.P. De Boer, The Imitation of Paul (Kampen: J.H. Kok NV, 1962) p.54.
27. B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1961) pp.182, 183; cf., pp.184-7; in ibid., p.44.
28. Jn 13.13.
29. K.H. Rengstorff, ' $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ' TDNT, IV 415-61; 445-50.
30. 'The usage of the Evangelists is not absolutely clear on this point' but Jn 6.60ff. is definitive, ibid., pp.444-5.
31. Mt 11 1-6, Lk 7 18-23.

32. Spicq op.cit., II, 734.
33. cf. S.M. Teselle, 'Learning for the Whole Person: A model from the Parables of Jesus', Religion 45 (1976) 161-73 and Speaking in Parables (London:SCM Press, 1975).
34. Jn 15.12ff.
35. Jn 13.8; 14.20, 23; 17.21.
36. De Boer, op.cit., p.57; cf. J. Kraus 'Imitation + being in the ethics of the New Testament' Theology Digest 17 (1969) 139-43.
37. Spicq, op.cit., II, 688-706.
38. Ibid., II, 698 note 1. De Boer op.cit., pp.10-12.
39. De Boer's criticism (op.cit., pp.10-12) of his misunderstanding of a quotation from Philo is particularly telling as an indication that Michaelis brings the pre-supposition of obedience to his exegesis. A conclusion also supported by others, cf. Spicq, op.cit., II, 705 note 3.
40. cf. De Boer, op.cit., (209f); on Eph 5.1 (pp.77f.); 2 Thess 3.9 (p.138); 1 Cor 4.17 (pp.151f); 1 Cor 11.1 (pp.167f); Phil 3.17 (pp.184-7).
41. Michaelis, op.cit., pp.672f.
42. Ibid., p.672 note 33.

'CHRIST OF FAITH' OR 'JESUS OF HISTORY'?

43. Michaelis, op.cit., p.672.
44. cf. D.E. Nineham, 'Eye Witness Testimony and the Gospel Tradition, III' Journal of Theological Studies 11 (1960) 253-64, p.264.
45. M.D. Hooker, 'Christology and Methodology' NTS 17 (1970-1) 480-7; D.G.A. Calvert, 'An Examination of the Criteria for Distinguishing the Authentic Words of Jesus'; NTS 18 (1971-2) 209-18.
R.S. Barbour, Traditio-Historical Criticism of the Gospels, (London: SPCK, 1972).
46. F.G. Downing, The Church and Jesus (London SCM Press, 1968).
47. cf. C.F.D. Moule, The Phenomenon of the New Testament (London:SCM Press, 1967) pp.56-76, 101-114;
G.N. Stanton, Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) pp.137-156.
48. E.J. Tinsley, 'Some Principles for reconstructing a doctrine of the Imitation of Christ' SJT 25 (1972) 45-57, p.54 referring to an unpublished thesis by E.H. Denyer.

49. E.J. Tinsley, The Imitation of God in Christ (London: SCM Press, 1960) pp.109f.
50. Ibid., pp.111f.
51. Contra Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I (London: SCM Press, 1952), 188f; Betz, op.cit., pp.138,155. For the debate cf. Stanton, op.cit., pp.89-93; J.W. Fraser, 'Paul's Knowledge of Jesus: 2 Corinthians 5.16 once more', NTS 17 (1970-1) 293-313.
52. cf. the similar argument of Mk 10 35-45; Jn 3.1-21; Fraser, op.cit., p.313.
53. Stanton, op.cit., p.98.
54. Phil 2.6-11, 2 Cor 8.9, Rom 15.3, 8, 2 Cor 10.1, cf. 1 Cor 11.1, 1 Thess 1.6. Stanton, op.cit.; pp.99-109; De Boer, op.cit., pp.61ff; 2 Cor 4.8-11, 6.4-10: Tinsley, Imitation., pp.141-7.
55. Tinsley, Imitation, p.141.
56. Rom 15.7; Phil 2.9; Eph 4.32, 5.2; Cor 3.13; cf., G.M. Styler 'The basis of obligation in Paul's Christology and Ethics'. B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley (eds), Christ and Spirit in the New Testament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) pp.175-187; 183f.
57. R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) p.295; in Stanton op.cit., p.106 note 3.
58. Oepke, op.cit., p.369, in Michaelis op.cit., p.672 note 31.
59. Stanton, op.cit., p.106.
60. Tinsley, Imitation, pp.142-7 on parallels to 2 Cor 6.4-10.
61. e.g. gentleness, patience, humility, charity, compassion, obedience and suffering, Ibid., pp.150-154.
62. e.g. While the grammatical sense of 1 Thess 1.6, 2-14 is debateable, the context requires a place for active imitation, since 'they suffered not as helpless victims, but as Christians fighting the fight of faith': De Boer, op.cit., p.101, cf. pp.99-103.
63. Gal 5.22f, cf. Cor 3.12-15.
64. cf. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (London: A. and C. Black, 1931), pp.172-4, and his later non-theological writings.
65. cf. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah (London: Hodders, 1943), p.89.
66. J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (London: SCM Press, 1975) p.325, cf. pp.318-26.
67. In this sense Bultmann and Barth are correct, but more can be said than they are willing to allow.

68. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time (London: SCM Press, 1962³) p.228; quoted in Dunn, op.cit., who, pp.223f., supports this understanding of ὑποτάξις in Rom 2.18, 12.2, 14.22, Eph 5.10, Phil 1.10, cf., Col 1.9f.
69. Dunn, op.cit., p.224.
70. Insofar as the tension of living in two aeons or under two Lordships allows, cf., infra, no claim of perfectionism is intended.

IMITATION OF CHRIST AND IMITATION OF GOD

71. For Greek usage and its penetration into the Jewish world: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, and the Rabbinic literature; Michaelis, op.cit., pp.659-66; Spicq, loc.cit. footnotes, passim; De Boer, op.cit., pp.1-50.
72. De Boer, op.cit., p.40.
73. Exod 22.21, 23.9, Lev 19.34, Dt 5.14f, 15.15, 24.18; ibid., p.39.
74. Ibid., p.32, cf. pp.31-3.
75. Ibid., p.38, cf. pp.33ff; contra Tinsley, Imitation, pp.29ff., whose understanding has also been criticised on historical grounds. cf. B. Lindars, 'Imitation of God and imitation of Christ', Theology 76 (1973) 394-402.
76. De Boer, op.cit., p.35.
77. Synonymous? cf., 2 Sam 22.26.
78. V.P. Furnish, The Love Command in the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1973), pp.53f., cf., De Boer, op.cit., pp.71ff.
79. cf., Spicq, op.cit., p.699 note 2.
80. De Boer, op.cit., pp.72f., Spicq, op.cit., pp.698f; cf., Jn 8.39, 44; 1 Jn 2.29, 3.2, 9.
81. De Boer, op.cit., p.73.
82. Ibid., pp.74f. Michaelis, op.cit., p.671, only sees obedience in Eph 5.1.
83. Larsson, op.cit., pp.210-223. It may be argued, although not proved, that similarity to LXX means direct derivation from it, so precluding reference to Jesus' own life; cf., V.P. Furnish, Theology and Ethics in Paul (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), p.223 on 1 Cor 10.1.
84. 1 Jn 1.5-7, 2.3-6, 29; cf., Jn 17.11, 21-23.

85. Rom 8.29; 1 Cor 15.49; Phil 3.21; cf., R.C. Tannehill, Dying and Rising with Christ (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), pp.104-12.
86. cf., Rom 6.1-11; Gal 4.19; ibid., pp.21-43.
87. Rom 6.3-6, 7.1-6; 2 Cor 4.7-14, 5.14-17, 13.4; Phil 3.10f; cf., ibid., pp.21-69, 84-90, 98, 114-20.
88. Rom 6.3-6; Phil 2.1-16; Col 2.11-13, 20-22, 3.1-10; Eph 4.17-5.20; 1 Pet 2.18-25, 3.13-4.6; and possible allusions to baptism in Jn 13; cf., Thysman op.cit., pp. 159-66, principally following Larsson, op.cit.
89. Tannehill, op.cit., pp.76f., cf. Rom 7.24, 8.22f; 2 Cor 5.4.
90. Ibid., p.12; cf., 1 Cor 4.8, 10.1-13; 2 Cor 1.5-9. The same point can be deduced from 2 Cor 3.18, cf., Spicq, op.cit., pp.741ff; and H. Thieliicke, Theological Ethics, 1 (London: A. and C. Black, 1968) 174ff, who uses it in support of a relational rather than ontological concept of the image of God in man.
91. Rom 8.17; Phil 3.10f; 2 Tim 2.12.

IMITATION OF CHRIST AND IMITATION OF PAUL

92. cf., Dunn, op.cit., pp.326-338.
93. cf., I. Gobry, Le modèle en morale (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), pp.350-68, on the dialectical tension in a mediator both asserting and effacing himself.
94. cf., W. Bauder 'μιμῆσαι' New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, I (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1976) p.490; contra Furnish, Theology, p.221 who chooses suffering and conformity to Christ's death in preference to singlemindedness.
95. cf., De Boer, op.cit., pp.188ff, for exegesis of this difficult verse.
96. cf., the context of disorder in the church (1 Thess 4.1-8, 5.19-22; 2 Thess 3.6, 11f.), ibid., pp.126-33.
97. Acts 20.35 also appeals to Jesus' teaching.
98. cf., De Boer, op.cit., p.145 for Paul's frequent use of this metaphor.
99. cf., ibid., pp.86-88; Spicq, op.cit., pp.730f.
100. D.M. Stanley, ' "Become Imitators of Me": The Pauline Concept of Apostolic Tradition', Biblica 40 (1959) 859-77.
101. De Boer, op.cit., pp.165f, 194, 208.

102. Augustine, On the Psalms, 40-6, The Christian Conflict, 11.12; cf., p. 99 infra.
103. Furnish, Theology, p.223.
104. W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1948) p.147 note 5.
105. cf., Calvin's polemic in his commentary on Philippians, Colossians and Thessalonians.
106. cf., J.A.T. Robinson, The Body (London: SCM Press, 1952); E. Best, One Body in Christ (London: SPCK 1955); C.F.D. Moule The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957) pp.74-80; C.M. Proudfoot 'Imitation or Realistic Participation?', Interpretation 17 (1963) 140-60.
107. cf., Col 2.11-14.
108. Phil 3.10, Acts 14.22.
109. cf., Acts 9.5, 1 Cor 8.12, 12.12; and more generally, Paul's Adam Christology, C.K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last (London: A. and C. Black, 1962); and his understanding of 'in Christ', 'body', and 'temple', summarised in C.F.D. Moule, The Origin of Christology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp.47-96. Moule argues that too much weight may have been placed on the word 'σωμα' in previous expositions. But if it is (apart from 1 Cor 6.15, 12.12f.) 'a metaphor simply for the corporation of Christians'; the doctrine attached to it is justified, since 'it is only by virtue of "inclusion in Christ"...that the corporate existence is achieved' (pp.81f.).
110. Gal 4.19, Eph 3.13, cf., Rom 9.3.
111. e.g., 'the fulness of Christ's life, alike in His death and in His resurrection, now overflows into His body'; Robinson, The Body, p.70. The suffering aspect is also expressed outside Paul's writings, cf., 1 Pet 4.13, 5.9; Rev 1.9.
112. 2 Cor 7.5, cf., 1.4ff., 4.1, 5, 11. Though there is no clear distinction that would enable one to state that Paul's relation to Christ was juridical rather than ontological through baptism, as with all other Christians.
113. Cf., Mt 24.6, Mk 13.8, Lk 21.9, 21.24, Rom 11.25, Heb 11.40, Rev 6.11; Best, op.cit., p.136.
114. Cf., Moule, op.cit., pp.70-82.
115. There can be no distinction between believing and unbelieving brethren (V.40), for by the time of the Judgment all nations (V.32) will have been evangelised (Mt 28.9), cf., V.P. Furnish, The Love Command in the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1973) pp.82f.

- 116. Cf., the problems of absolute definitions of the Church in relation to secular society (anonymous Christians?), ecumenical and inter-faith relations.
- 117. Cf., Rom 8.19-23, 1 Cor 8.6, Col 1.17f.
- 118. The last charge is perhaps easier to uphold than the others since mysticism is not necessarily individualistic, and martyrdom has, been seen as a bringing in of the eschaton, cf., E.R. Daniel The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), chapter 2.
- 119. J. Macquarrie, Three Issues in Ethics (London: SCM Press, 1970) p.109.

2 - PATRISTIC AND CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENTS

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

120. W.S. Kissinger, The Sermon on the Mount: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1975) pp.1-5 and passim;
H.K. McArthur, Understanding the Sermon on the Mount (New York: Harpers, 1960).
121. Kissinger, op.cit., p.6; cf., H. Smith, Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels, 4 vols. (London: SPCK, 1926);
A.C. Coxe, ed., The Ante-Nicene Fathers, X (New York: Scribners, 1899).
122. Cf., Aquinas, Summa Theologica, 2.1 Q 108.4.
123. References in Kissinger, op.cit., pp.11,19; McArthur, op.cit., p.116 to Didache, 6.2f.; Chrysostom Homilies on the Sermon on the Mount, XXI.5; Augustine, Reply to Faustus, V9, On Holy Virginity, 28.
124. De Boer, op.cit., p.14.
125. T. Preiss, 'La mystique de L'imitation du Christ et de l'unité chez Ignace d'Antioche' Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 17 (1938) 197-241, cf., note 138 infra.
126. E.J. Tinsley, 'The Imitatio Christi in the Mysticism of St. Ignatius of Antioch', Studia Patristica 2 (Berlin Akademie-Verlag, 1957), pp.554f.
127. W.M. Swartley, 'The Imitatio Christi in the Ignatian Letters' Vigiliae Christianae 27 (1973) 81-103, p.89.
128. T. Camelot, Ignace d'Antioche Lettres (Paris: Cerf, 1944) pp.27-29.
129. Swartley, op.cit., p.99.
130. Ibid., p.102.
131. Ibid., p.101.
132. T.F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (London/Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1948) p.46.
133. Cf., Chapters 4, 5, 15, 17, 31, 33.
134. Chapter 63.1.
135. F. Cayre, Manual of Patrology, I (Paris: Desclée, 1936), p.61.
136. Chapters 16,36.

MARTYRDOM

137. Acts 7, cf., Cyprian, Book on the Value of Patience, FC36, p.279.
(The parallels between Jesus and Stephen are given in E.J. Tinsley, The Imitation of God in Christ, pp.109f.)
138. Contra, Torrance, op.cit., p.138; who maintains that the early church, especially in Ignatius 'in many ways the most "Pauline" of all the Apostolic Fathers' felt that Christians appropriated the cross through martyrdom rather than faith.
139. Cf., Ignatius of Antioch, Smyrn.1. This and many other references in this section are from C.E. Iedeur 'The Spiritual Tradition', pp.37-65 of E. Malatesta (ed) Imitating Christ (Wheatthampstead: Anthony Clarke, 1974), ET of DSP 7, cols 1536-1601, 2355-68.
140. Origen, Exhortation to Martyrdom §§ 41-44.
141. Cf., Ibid., § 41; Ignatius of Antioch Magn. V.2; Cyprian's Exhortation to Martyrdom.
142. Leo the Great, Sermon 85.1; cf., Clement of Alexandria Stromata IV.IV, as quoted in L. Bouyer, The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers (London: Burns and Oates, 1963), p.206.
143. Letter of Polycarp 1.1; in Ibid., p.200.
144. Martyrdom of Polycarp 17.30, in ibid.
145. L. Meyer, Saint Jean Chrysostome Maître de perfection chrétienne (Paris:Beauchesne, 1933) p.332.
146. Stromata IV.IV.15, as quoted in Bouyer, op.cit., p.210.
147. J. Lebreton, Tu Solus Sanctus (Paris: Beauchesne, 1948), pp.265f.
148. St Paul of the Cross (1694-1775) and St Veronica Giuliani (1660-1727) are given in Ibid., as examples of the former and latter, respectively.
149. St Francis of Assisi, Regula Prima, chap.16.
150. St Bonaventure, De Triplici Via, chap. 3 §2, quoted in E.R. Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975) p.51.
151. Daniel, op.cit., pp.50-54.
152. Ibid., p.72.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM AND ST. AUGUSTINE

153. Meyer, op.cit., chap. 6. Other references in this section derive from Iedeur, op.cit., pp.42-6.
154. Against the Jews, 8.9.
155. Homilies on Acts, 14.4.
156. Cf., Meyer, op.cit., chap. 4.2.
157. Ibid., pp.220-6.
158. Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, 78.4.
159. Baptismal Instructions, 1.29, 31; Commentary on Galatians, 3.5.
160. Homilies on 1 Corinthians, 8.7.
161. On the Psalms, 40.6.
162. Ibid.
163. The Christian Conflict, XI.12.
164. Confessions, X.XLII, cf., Sermon 371.
165. On the Trinity, IV.1.2.
166. On Holy Virginity, 27.
167. Ibid.
168. Ibid., 28.
169. Cf., DSP, 1, art. 'Augustin (Saint)', cols. 1110f.
170. Cf., DSP, 7, art. 'Humilité', cols. 1153f.
171. On Holy Virginity, 27.
172. Cf., Sermon 304.2.2, and On Galatians, 38; quoted in Osborn, op.cit., p.161f.
173. On the Trinity, VII.III.5.
174. Ibid., XIV.IV.6.

IMITATION AND IMAGE

175. V. Lossky, The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church (London: James Clarke, 1957) p.215.
176. References in I. Hausherr, 'L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité Byzantine', Mélanges Cavallera (Toulouse, Institut Catholique, 1948) pp.231-59 to all except Nilus of Ancyra, for which cf., J. Quasten, Patrology, III (Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum, 1966), p.498.

177. De Vita in Christo, 7; quoted in Hausherr, op.cit., p.251.
178. In Matth. Comm. Sermon 73, quoted in Quasten, op.cit., II, 94.
179. Cf., J.A.T. Robinson, The Human Face of God (London: SCM Press, 1973) p.39f.
180. Cayre, op.cit., 2, 308.
181. Questions to Thalassius, 64; quoted in J. Moiser, 'Dogmatic Thoughts on Imitation of Christ', SJT 30 (1977) pp.201-13; 206.
182. Four Centuries on Charity 2.52, in ACW21, St. Maximus the Confessor. The Ascetic Life. The Four Centuries on Charity, trans. P. Sherwood (London: Longmans, 1955).
183. Ibid., 1.61, cf., 1.17, 24-25, 2.10, 13.
184. Ibid., 4.90.
185. The Mystagogy PG91.713, quoted in Hausherr, op.cit., p.246.
186. Four Centuries on Charity, 2.52.
187. Ibid., 4.55.
188. Ibid.
189. The Ascetic Life, 34; 4, 15; 45.
190. Questions to Thalassios, 29; quoted in Hausherr, op.cit., p.247.
191. Ambigua, PG90, 1253D, quoted in Ibid., p.246.
192. The Ascetic Life, 3.
193. References in Hausherr, op.cit., pp.248f.
194. The Ascetic Life 4, 69-72, 77; cf., Cayre, op.cit., p.313.
195. References in Hausherr, op.cit., pp.249f.
196. Cayre, op.cit., p.312, cf., p.310; cf., P. Pourrat, Christian Spirituality, 1 (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1922) P.299:
197. Lossky, op.cit., chap. 8.
198. The Greek Fathers were not concerned about the precise number of gifts, but the Latin Fathers, especially Augustine (Sermon 347), followed by Gregory the Great (Moralis 2.77); thought of the theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity cf., 1 Thess 1.3) and the classical cardinal virtues (Justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance, cf., Wisdom 8.7) being consummated in the seven-fold gift of the Holy Spirit (wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, fear of the Lord, cf., Isa 11.1-3 LXX). In the thirteenth century the definitive synthesis was made by Aquinas, although Scotists have denied the distinction between virtues and gifts. Cf., NCE 7,99.

199. Cf., Spicq, Théologie Morale du Nouveau Testament II, 741-4.
200. Cf., Y. Congar 'The Place of Poverty in Christian Life in an Affluent Society' Concilium 5 (1966) 28-39.
201. Summa Theologica, 2a, 2ae Q188, a.7.
202. Whatever may have been the historical result of Aquinas' thinking, he intended to make a synthesis between the theological and cardinal virtues and the seven gifts of the spirit; which he associated with the seven fruits of the spirit or Beatitudes. Summa Theologica 1a, 2ae Q63-70, cf., Cayre, op.cit., II, 617 cf., 611f.
203. Cf., J.A. Boorman 'The one Foundation of Christian Ethics' Canadian Journal of Theology 6 (1960) 159-169, who considers, (p.159), Thomas' ethics not to be a synthesis, but a 'two storey structure which is largely Aristotelian on the first level and Biblical on the second - the whole scheme is a highly organised system of prudential ethics which bears little fundamental resemblance to the ethics of the New Testament'.
204. e.g., G. Gilleman, The Primacy of Charity in Moral Theology (Westminster, Md: Newman Press, 1959) from French of 1952 and B. Häring, op.cit., note 207 infra, both work within a Thomistic framework, but the extent to which they owe their biblical outlook to Aquinas himself is another question.
205. cf., Summa Theologica, 2a-2ae Q82.3.2 'meditation upon matters relating to Christ's humanity readily dispose for devotion, yet the object of devotion is the divine nature'.
206. Congar op.cit., p.29, referring to I-B Gillon/L'imitation du Christ et la morale de S. Thomas', Angelicum 36 (1959) 263-86.
207. A landmark in the change of direction was B. Häring, The Law of Christ, 3 vols., (Westminster, Md: Newman Press). From the German of 1954. Although J. Sobrino, Christology at the Crossroads (London: SCM Press, 1978) p142 note 35, wonders whether the change was in fact more apparent than real, at least it was a beginning.
208. P. Adnés 'Theological Reflections' pp.67-80 in Malatesta, Imitating Christ, op.cit., note 1139, p.79.

ST. BERNARD

209. P. Pourrat, Christian Spirituality, II (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1924), p.19.
210. Cf., excerpts from Bernard in Ledeur, op.cit., pp.48-50.
211. Pourrat, op.cit., pp.38-51.

212. Ibid., pp.50f. and Cayre, op.cit., II, 432.
213. J. Leclercq in J. Leclercq, F. Vandenbroucke, I. Bouyer, The Spirituality of the Middle Ages (London: Burns and Oates, 1968), p.198.
214. Ibid.
215. On the Song of Songs, 20.8; quoted in Ledeur, op.cit., p.48.
216. Leclercq, op.cit., p.199.
217. Ibid.
218. Treatise against the errors of Abelard (=Epistle 190), Chap.9. PI182,1072; quoted in E.J. Tinsley, The Imitation of God in Christ, p.178.
219. Sermon for the Nativity, 1.2; quoted in Ledeur, op.cit., p.49. Although 'wisdom' appears to have been a rhetorical addition, for in Concerning Grace and Free Will (also in Ibid.), Bernard asserted that an aspect of the renewal of the image of God in man by the Holy Spirit is the ability 'to imitate in all things the divine wisdom'.

ST. FRANCIS

220. Bartholemew of Pisa: De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu (1385-99); reference in E.R. Daniel, op.cit., note 150 supra, p.109. Cf., St. Bonaventure Legenda Minor, VI.IX, quoted in I.C. Brady 'St. Bonaventure's Theology of the Imitation of Christ', in P.F. Foley, ed., Proceedings of the Seventh Centenary Celebration of the death of St. Bonaventure (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1975), pp.61-72; pp.65f.
221. Cf., Ledeur, op.cit., pp.50f.
222. M.D. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty (London: SPCK, 1961), pp.58ff.
223. Ibid., p.36.
224. Daniel, op.cit., passim.
225. Ibid., pp.XIII, 48.
226. Ibid., pp.107f.
227. Celano, Vita Secunda, 2.143.
228. Letters, 7; quoted in Ledeur, op.cit., p.53.
229. Celano, op.cit., 84.
230. Cf., the approach of H.R. Niebuhr, infra, p.143.

- 231. Cf., E. Longpre, 'Saint François d'Assise', DSP, 5, cols. 1271-1303; 1281.
- 232. Cf., the Hymn to the Trinity at the end of the Regula Prima.
- 233. Counsels, 1; in Ledeur, op.cit., p.53.

ST. BONAVENTURE

- 234. De Triplici Via, chap. 3.
- 235. Opera Omnia, IX, 388a; quoted in I.C. Brady, op.cit., p.63.
- 236. Cf., supra, p. 97.
- 237. Cf., Sermon after Easter on 1 Pet 2.21, Opera Omnia, IX, 372-5; in Ibid., p.67.
- 238. Commentary on the Sentences of Lombard, III, 776b, 783.4; in Ibid., pp.62f.
- 239. J. Hourlier, in E. Malatesta ed., Jesus in Christian Devotion and Contemplation (Wheathampstead: Anthony Clarke, 1974) ET of DSP, 8 cols. 1033-1108; p.43.
- 240. Brady, op.cit., p.67.
- 241. Ibid., p.64.
- 242. Cf., Commentary on the Sentences of Lombard, IV.84b, in Ibid., p.62.
- 243. Ibid., p. 69.
- 244. Ibid., p. 70.
- 245. Ibid.
- 246. Ibid.
- 247. Apologia Pauperum, in Ibid., p.69.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI

- 248. Cf., A. Rayez in Malatesta, op.cit., note 239 supra, pp. 66-83.
- 249. Assuming that he wrote most, if not all of it. For discussion of the authorship, cf., NCE 7, 375-77.

250. A word study reveals 64 references to the imitation of Christ as compared with interior grace (108), spiritual consolation (138), humility (256), spiritual combat (419). Figures from R. Storz Concordantia ad Quatuor Libros De Imitatione Christi (London, 1911) given in L.J. Richard, The Spirituality of John Calvin (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1974) p.43 note 54.
251. ET, Of the Imitation of Christ (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, 1886).
252. Cf., J.M. Gustafson, Christ and the Moral Life (New York: Harpers, 1968) p.173.
253. Cf., F. Vandenbroucke, 'Who reads the "Imitation of Christ"?' Concilium 9 (1971) 124-132.
254. A criticism Baron F. Von Hügel reported (14.9.1918) as having been made around 1898 by Professor Von Hertling that 'Thomas is much less satisfactory as to the other essential world-seeking element of Christianity'. Selected Letters ed. B. Holland (London: Dent, 1927) p.252f.
255. Cf., Vandenbroucke, op.cit.
256. Cf., J.M.R. Tillard, 'The Paths of Obedience' Lumen Vitae 31 (1976) 281-351, 483-515.
257. Cf., A.T. Shannon, Render unto God (New York: Paulist Press, 1974).
258. Cf., J. Osuna, Friends in the Lord (London: The Way Series 3, 1974), p.113; cf., pp.74, 107f, 115.

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

259. J. De Guibert, The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit Sources, Loyola University Press, 1964), p.137.
260. This section follows
H. Rahner, Ignatius the Theologian, (London: Chapman, 1968).
261. Ibid., p.99. Cf., the discussion on their basic structure in J. Sobrino, op.cit., note 207 supra, Appendix 'The Christ of the Ignatian Exercises', pp.396-424. 'They do not begin with the God of Jesus Christ, move onto the historical Jesus himself, and then return to the God of Jesus Christ. Instead they begin with the radical seriousness of human life, move onto Jesus as the best embodiment and response to this serious issue, and then end with the God whom we can now comprehend because of Jesus and his pattern of discipleship'. (p.422).
262. Quotations from The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, trans. T. Corbishley (Wheathampstead: Anthony Clarke, 1963), are identified by the bracketed paragraph numbers of that edition.
263. Rahner, op.cit., p.101.

- 264. Ignatius' Directory, quoted in Ibid., p.130.
- 265. Cf., The Spiritual Exercises, (48), (53), (196-7), (203).
- 266. Ibid., (91), (103), (112), (192), (202), (220).
- 267. Ibid., (66-70), (122-5); cf., (72), (128-9), (227).
- 268. Rahner, op.cit., p.190.
- 269. Ibid., p.207; cf., discussion pp.191-206.
- 270. Ibid., p.209.

THE SPANISH SCHOOL

- 271. E.W. Trueman Dicken, The Crucible of Love, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963), p.142.
- 272. Tomas De La Cruz, 'The Carmelite School: St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross', in Malatesta, op.cit., note 239 supra, p.93.
- 273. Spiritual Sayings, 6.
- 274. Ascent of Mount Carmel, 2.5.
- 275. Ascent, 2.12.3; but cf., Spiritual Canticle 36.1, 37.1-4.
- 276. Spiritual Canticle, 5.4, cf., 37.5; Ascent, 2.22.
- 277. Tomas De La Cruz, op.cit., p.93; cf., Spiritual Canticle, 37.3.
- 278. Cf., Life, 9, 10, 13, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30.
- 279. Life, 4.7, 9.6; Way of Perfection, 26.2.
- 280. Life, 27.
- 281. Life, 22; Interior Castle, 6.7.
- 282. Life, 28-29; Spiritual Relations, 15, 26.
- 283. Tomas De La Cruz, op.cit., p.89.
- 284. Cf., infra pp.225-62 and Appendix B.
- 285. Points of Love, 63.
- 286. Points of Love, 8.
- 287. Ascent, 2.8.8.
- 288. Ibid.

289. Ascent, 1.13.3-4.

THE FRENCH SCHOOL

290. Invitation to the Devout Life, 2.1 quoted in Pourrat, op.cit., 3, 293-4; cf., Treatise on the Love of God, 8.1.
291. Pourrat, op.cit., 3.323, 341-5.
292. Ibid., pp.347-56.
293. Ibid., pp.356-81; which is the basis of the outline, which follows.
294. Berulle, Oeuvres, p.921 quoted in Ibid., p.357.
295. Olier, Introduction à la Vie Chrétienne, Ibid., p.358.
296. Summary by M. Letourneau (1913); Ibid., p.359.
297. Cf., Olier Introduction, 4.62, quoted by E.A. Walsh, 'Spirituality, French School of', NCE 13, p.605.
298. Pourrat, op.cit., 3, 382-6.
299. Ibid., pp.359, 360-81.
300. Ibid., pp.378-9.
301. Ibid., p.364.
302. Cf., H. Brémond, A Literary History of Religious Thought in France, III, (London: SPCK, 1936) pp.435-96 on the C17; and generally, I. Noye, 'Dévotion à l'enfance de Jésus', DSP 4.1, cols. 652-82.
303. Cf., L. Tinsley, The French Expressions for Spirituality & Devotion (Washington: Catholic University of American Press, 1953); pp.244-7, 258, 266.
304. Pourrat, op.cit., 3, 363-4.
305. Olier, Catechisme Chrétien 1.XX in Ibid., p.360.
306. Olier, Pensées Choisies, p.41 in Ibid.
307. Olier, Catechisme Chrétien, 1.XX in Ibid., p.361.
308. Cf., P. Coste, The Life and Labours of St. Vincent de Paul, III (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1935), pp.373-5; L. Abelly, Vie de S. Vincent de Paul (1664) II (Paris: Debécourt-Canuet, 1839), pp.259-68.
309. Pourrat, op.cit., 3, 367, 396.
310. Cf., J.F. Six, Un Prêtre, Antoine Chevrier, (Paris: Seuil, 1965).
311. Leduc, op.cit., pp.61f.

3 - PROTESTANT ASSESSMENTS

REFORMERS AND RADICALS

312. Luther's Works (Philadelphia & St. Louis, 1955-) 27,263; quoted in H. Thieliicke Theological Ethics, 1 (London: A. & C. Black, 1968), 194.
313. Luther's Works, 35, 119, quoted in Ibid.
314. Thieliicke, op.cit., p.186. This concrete use of the term is not to be confused with the philosophical idealism of Kant or Schleiermacher.
315. Ibid., p.187.
316. Ibid., p.191.
317. Ibid., p.188.
318. Ibid., p.193.
319. Ibid., pp.192-4; cf., chapters 11-13.
320. Ibid., pp.173f., 176f., 180-2.
321. Ibid., p.184.
322. Ibid., p.194.
323. Cf., A Treatise on Christian Liberty.
324. 'Temporal Authority: To What Extent it Should be obeyed'. Luther's Works 45, 120; quoted in Gustafson, op.cit., note 252 supra, p.126.
325. The references to Luther's writings are given in G. Wingren, The Christian's Calling (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958) pp.171-84.
326. Corpus Reformatorum, 45,481, quoted in W. Niesel, The Theology of Calvin (L. Lutterworth Press, 1956), p.143.
327. Ibid.
328. Corpus Reformatorum, 12,86 in Ibid., p.148.
329. Institutes, 3.8-9; further references in Niesel, op.cit., pp.143-8; R.S. Wallace, Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), pp.41-47.
330. Wallace, op.cit., p.47. Cf., Commentary on Jn 17.21, 1 Jn 2-6.
331. Ibid., p.42.

- 332. Ibid., pp.47-8, 74.
- 333. Ibid., pp.103-111.
- 334. L.J. Richard, The Spirituality of John Calvin (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1974) p.115f.
- 335. Institutes, 1.15.4.
- 336. Institutes, 3.10.6.
- 337. Institutes, 3.10.1-2.
- 338. Institutes, 3.9.4.
- 339. Institutes, 3.10.1.
- 340. Cf., H.S. Bender, 'The Anabaptist Vision', in The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, ed. G.F. Hershberger (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1957) p.43; quoted in Kissinger, op.cit., note 120 supra, p.30.
- 341. Kissinger, op.cit., pp.31-34.
- 342. Ibid., pp.35-36.
- 343. For evidence for this interpretation see V. Eller, Kierkegaard & Radical Discipleship (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.).

KIERKEGAARD AND SCHLEIERMACHER

- 344. Eller, op.cit., p.347.
- 345. Søren Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers, II, ed. and trans. H.V. Hong and E.H. Hong (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), 1880. The references in this section are to the numbered entries 1833-1940 on this theme on pp.315-76. These are just 107 out of a total 5050 extracts on all subjects, so no attempt has been made to place his thinking on this topic in the context of the rest of his religious and philosophical thought.
- 346. Ibid., 1846, 1870, 1938, 1940.
- 347. Training in Christianity, trans. W. Lowrie (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp.231-50; cf., 'Judge for Yourselves', For Self-examination and Judge for Yourselves, trans. W. Lowrie (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), 161-217, especially pp.197ff; Hong, op.cit., 1848, 1873, 1895, 1900, 1929, 1932.
- 348. Hong, op.cit., 1852, 1862, 1877, 1901-1904.
- 349. Ibid., 1837, 1840, 1866, 1872, 1882, 1896, 1911, 1936.

350. 'For Self-examination', For Self-examination and Judge for Yourselves, pp.78-90.
351. 'Judge for yourselves' in Ibid., p.161; Hong, op.cit., 1852, 1863, 1877, 1891, 1920.
352. Hong, op.cit., 1909.
353. Ibid., 1888, 1908, 1910, 1919.
354. Ibid., 1857, 1880, 1902, 1903, 1905.
355. Ibid., 1884.
356. Ibid., 1872, 1882, 1883, 1886, 1892, 1903, 1936.
357. Ibid., 1847, 1865, 1885.
358. Ibid., 1859, 1868, 1869, 1940.
359. Ibid., 1893.
360. Ibid., 1845, 1865, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1896, 1911, 1921, 1922.
Not that K. was unaware of joy in suffering, and pure joy in the life to come, cf., ibid., pp.492-501, 607f.
361. Ibid., 1893, 1898, 1905.
362. Cf., Gustafson, op.cit., pp.83-97.
363. F. Schleiermacher, The Christian Faith (1830²)
ed.& trans.H.R. Mackintosh and J.S. Stewart (Ed. T & T Clark, 1928), p.434.
364. Ibid., p.438.
365. Cf., Ibid., pp.63, 426. Although, as Robinson, op.cit., note 179 supra, notes, p.79, a docetic element remains even in Schleiermacher's treatment of Jesus' human development, cf., pp.382, 421-4, for he reads the New Testament evidence 'as presenting a Christ wholly free from any inner conflict, effort or doubt'.
366. Ibid., p.425.
367. Ibid., pp.378, 384f.
368. Ibid., p.427.
369. Ibid.
370. Apart from the mention of the 'magical view', there is no reference in The Christian Faith to any objective aspect of the atonement.
371. Ibid., p.507.
372. Ibid., p.508.

BARTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY PERSPECTIVES

373. K. Barth, Church Dogmatics, I.1 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975²) p.323.
374. Under the influence of Harnack and Herrmann, Barth saw it as the immanentism of modern european culture and the intermediate step to modern atheism. Later, beginning with CD 3.4, he distinguished between Christian and non-Christian mysticism, and gave the former qualified approval; although continuing to criticise monasticism and the contemplative life. Cf., R.M. Yule 'Recent Writing on Christian Spirituality', SJT 28 (1975) 588-98; 590 note 1.
375. Cf., Yule, op.cit., p.590, E.J. Tinsley, The Imitation of God in Christ (London: SCM Press, 1960) pp.14-20; A. Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960) outlines, pp.163-242; 'The Specifically Christian Character of Pauline Mysticism'.
376. CD, IV.2, p.523.
377. CD, IV.2, p.333.
378. CD, IV.2, pp.171-80.
379. CD, IV.2, p.583.
380. There is also the Lutheran Simul justus, simul peccator paradox, which is not easy to translate into empirical consequences. Cf., CD, IV.2, p.572, and Gustafson, op.cit., pp.64, 124.
381. CD, IV.2, p.538, cf., p.546.
382. CD, II.2, p.540, cf., CD, III.4, pp.482f., (on participation); CD, IV.2, pp.599-601, 605 (on carrying the cross).
383. CD, IV.2, p.552.
384. CD, IV.2, pp.547ff.
385. CD, IV.2, p.552. Barth's specific ethical formulations (CD, III.4) stem from the command of God the creator.
386. CD, IV.2, pp.540, 553; and so, pace Luther, a change of vocation may be called for, cf., CD, III.4, p.645.

BULTMANN AND THE EXISTENTIAL VETO

387. The works of Rudolf Bultmann quoted in this section are denoted by the following abbreviations.
Essays, Essays Philosophical and Theological (London: SCM Press, 1955).
EF, Existence and Faith: Shorter Writings of Rudolph Bultmann (New York: World Publishing Co., 1961).
FU, Faith and Understanding (London: SCM Press, 1969).
GV, Glauben und Verstehen, 4 vols. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1933-1965).

387, contd.

- HE, History and Eschatology (Edinburgh: University Press, 1957).
JW, Jesus and the Word, 1926 (London: Fontana, 1958).
KM, Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate (New York: Harper and Row, 1961).
TNT, Theology of the New Testament I,II (London: SCM Press, 1952,1957).
388. H.H. Schrey, 'The Consequences of Bultmann's Theology for Ethics', in C.W. Kegley, ed., Theology of Rudolf Bultmann (London: SCM Press, 1966) p.199 note 26.
389. FU, p.267; cf., p.277.
390. e.g., E. Hirsch, I. Hermann, J. Weiss; FU, pp.124-9,132-7,267.
391. FU, p.267.
392. J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (London: SCM Press, 1975), p.75, who points out that this entails parting company with the idea of Jesus as 'the witness of faith' in G. Ebeling, The Nature of Faith (London: Fontana, 1966) chap.4.
393. FU, pp.128, 137; cf., KM, p.38.
394. FU, p.268.
395. see infra, pp.148f.
396. FU, p.277.
397. FU, p.239.
398. see supra, pp.81-83.
399. R.C. Roberts, Rudolf Bultmann's Theology: A Critical Interpretation (London: SPCK, 1976), p.285.
400. Ibid.
401. Cf., ibid., pp.299f.
402. HE, p.109.
403. Cf., Essays, p.160, on justification.
404. Ibid., p.158.
405. Roberts, op.cit., p.308.
406. GV, IV, p.53; quoted in ibid., p.233.
407. EF, p.281.
408. Essays, p.64; quoted in J.M. Gustafson, op.cit., p.130.
409. JW, p.71.

- 410. TNT, I, p.19; cf., JW, p.66, and pp.16, 65, 68.
- 411. HE, p.98.
- 412. JW, p.61.
- 413. Cf., EF, p.73.
- 414. Ibid., p.182.
- 415. Essays, pp.79f.
- 416. JW, p.61.
- 417. Ibid., p.68.
- 418. e.g., J.A.T. Robinson, as criticised by P. Ramsey, Deeds and Rules in Christian Ethics (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965).
- 419. FU, pp.231; quoted in Roberts, op.cit., p.278, note.
- 420. Ibid., pp.278, 268f; quoting FU, pp.226, 228.
- 421. JW, p.70; quoted in Ibid., p.279, note.

BONHOEFFER AND 'CHRIST AS THE CENTRE OF HUMAN EXISTENCE'

- 422. The works of Dietrich Bonhoeffer quoted in this section are referred to by the following abbreviations.
C: Christology (1933) (London: Fontana, 1971).
CD: The Cost of Discipleship (1937) (London: SCM Press, 1959).
E: Ethics (1940-43) (London: SCM Press, 1971), following the re-arranged German sixth edition, 1963.
LP: Letters and Papers from Prison (1943-45) enlarged edition (London: SCM Press, 1971).
GS: Gesammelte Schriften, 6 vol. (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1958-74), with re-arranged selections translated in
NRS: No Rusty Swords (London: Fontana, 1975).
WTF: The Way to Freedom (London: Fontana, 1972).
- 423. 8.2.1929, cf., NRS, pp.35-44.
- 424. Cf., C, pp.81, 83f, 104, on traditional and idealistic docetism.
- 425. Ibid., p.62.
- 426. CD, p.270.
- 427. LP, p.383.
- 428. R. Gregor Smith in J. Macquarrie, A Dictionary of Christian Ethics (London: SCM Press, 1967), p.34.
- 429. J.A. Phillips, The Form of Christ in the World (London: Collins, 1967), p.224.

430. Letter of 21.12.52, quoted in Ibid., p.252.
431. CD, pp.272-4.
432. E, pp.61-63, 108f.
433. LP, pp.380-3.
434. Nachfolge - which may be translated here as 'imitation' (cf., E. Bethge Dietrich Bonhoeffer (London: Collins, 1970), p.380); or 'following' (cf., Phillips, op.cit., p.90), since Bonhoeffer does not contrast Nachfolge with the more precise term for 'imitation', Nachahmung.
435. Letter of 14.1.35, in GS, III, 25.
436. 6.9.35, WTF, p.31.
437. E, p.169.
438. E, p.170.
439. E, p.223.
440. E, p.224, cf., pp.189f, 192.
441. LP, 21.7.44, p.369.
442. LP, 18.7.44, p.361.
443. LP, 21.7.44, p.369, continuing Kierkegaard's concern about the abuse of God's grace, cf., supra, p. 124.
444. LP, 21.7.44, p.370.
445. E, p.167.
446. N.H.G. Robinson, The Groundwork of Christian Ethics (London: Collins, 1971) p.246, cf., p.241.
447. For the discussion cf., Phillips, op.cit., pp.225-37.
448. LP, 30.4.44, p.281, cf., Phillips, op.cit., p.233.
449. E, p.84.
450. 1940(?), GS III, p.43 as translated in Phillips, op.cit., p.222; cf., CD, p.269.
451. Phillips, op.cit., p.237.
452. LP, 28.7.44, p.374.
453. E, p.224.
454. LP, p.381.

- 455. 20.9.39, WTF, p.255.
- 456. CD, pp.79, 32, 31.
- 457. CD, p.273.
- 458. E, p.61.
- 459. E, p.110.
- 460. E, p.108.
- 461. Ibid.
- 462. E, p.62.
- 463. E, p.109f.
- 464. E, p.63, cf., pp.61f, 65f.
- 465. CD, p.272.
- 466. E, p.163.
- 467. E, p.25.
- 468. E, p.195.
- 469. E, p.210.
- 470. cf., E, p.196.
- 471. E, p.217.
- 472. E, p.162.
- 473. E, p.89.
- 474. cf., CD, p.202.
- 475. E, p.221.
- 476. CD, p.204.
- 477. E, p.221.
- 478. E, p.189.
- 479. E, p.192.
- 480. E, p.264.
- 481. Phillips, op.cit., p.237.

482. Gustafson, op.cit., p.138; cf., R. Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, II (London: Nisbet, 1943) pp.99ff.
483. R. Niebuhr, Faith and History (London: Nisbet, 1949) p.144. quoted in ibid., p.142.
484. H.R. Niebuhr, The Responsible Self (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) p.155.
485. Ibid., p.114.
486. H.R. Niebuhr, op.cit., p.126.
487. Cf., Ibid., p.167; cf., pp.162-173.
488. Gustafson, op.cit., p.243f; pointing out the relation to Augustine's thought. One might add that it is also Franciscan, cf., supra p. 107.
490. Ibid., p.92.
491. Ibid.
492. J.P. Wogaman, A Christian Method of Moral Judgment (London: SCM Press, 1976).
493. F.H. Borsch, God's Parable, (London: SCM Press, 1975), p.89.
494. After the time of Aquinas, cf., supra, p. 104.
495. J.G. Davies, Every Day God (London: SCM Press, 1973), p.74.
496. Ibid.
497. Ibid.
498. Ibid., Chapter One, title and argument.
499. P.L. Berger, A Rumour of Angels (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).
500. Lessing's Theological Writings, ed. H. Chadwick (London: A and C. Black, 1956), p.52, quoted in L.E. Keck, A Future for the Historical Jesus, (London: SCM Press, 1972), p.48.
501. R. Bultmann, Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p.38.
502. R. Bultmann, Faith and Understanding, p.268.
503. Cf., J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (London: SCM Press, 1975), p.12f.
504. Ibid.
505. Cf., supra, p. 81.

506. Bultmann, loc.cit., note 502.
507. R. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, 1926 (London: Fontana, 1958), pp.15, 151ff.
508. Cf., Kerygma and Myth, p.39; Faith and Understanding, pp.248ff.
509. E. Fuchs, 'The Quest of the Historical Jesus' (1956), Studies of the Historical Jesus, SBT 42 (London: SCM Press, 1964), p.21; noted in Keck, op.cit., p.30.
510. A. Child, 'History as Imitation', Philosophical Quarterly 2.8 (1952), 193-207; 196.
511. Erasmus, 'Preface to the New Testament', Opera Omnia, VI: as quoted in E. Osborn, Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.198.
512. A. Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus (London: A. and C. Black, 1926²) p.401.

CHAPTER THREE : CHARLES DE FOUCAULD :
LIFE-LONG TRAVELLER

1 - THE LONG ROAD TO FAITH (1858-1886)

STORMY WATERS (1858-1881)

Charles Eugène de Foucauld was born on 15 September 1858 at Strasbourg,¹ the great grand-nephew of the Archbishop of Arles who was martyred along with his cousin and vicar general, the blessed Armand de Foucauld de Pontbriand, at the Revolution. Whether or not tales of this great-great-uncle inspired Charles with his later longing for martyrdom,² there was no easy or direct link between the two. For Charles was more in tune with the military traditions of his family, and turned in that direction for a career after an unhappy and disturbed childhood which alienated him from the Christian faith.

In years to come Charles was to remember the piety of his mother³ and develop the love for the countryside first brought out in walks with his father, who had been appointed an inspector of waters and forests. But he lost both parents before he was six, and the kindly concern of his seventy year old grandfather, Colonel de Morlet, was no replacement for the parental love and security that had been taken from him. No doubt his grandfather was too indulgent and Charles would have benefited from more discipline,⁴ but there were also other upsetting matters to be met with. His education was interrupted by the necessity of leaving Strasbourg when it changed hands in 1870 at the end of the Franco-Prussian war. After a short time in Switzerland the family (Charles, his sister Marie who was three years younger, and the Colonel) settled in Nancy, where Charles attended the local lycée before going on to a Jesuit school in Paris to prepare for the entrance examination of the military college of St. Cyr.

One can only speculate on the effect upon Charles of this moving around from place to place, as he never discussed it himself. But it would seem to be at least a contributory factor to two facets of his personality. He was always to be a loner who had very few intimate friends, and was continually concerned in after years to fix himself in one spot if at all possible. As a monk he would frequently express a wish to have a stable framework in time and space through the practice of a Rule of life in an enclosure, and his natural inclination was to live a contemplative and eremitic life.⁵

However, there was another more serious incident which affected the boy at this time. His cousin, Marie Moitessier, who was perhaps the only one of his relatives ever to understand his human and spiritual needs, married the Vicomte Olivier de Bondy on 11 April 1874.⁶ So the friendship and consequent sense of security which had been growing between them over the past five years⁷ seemed suspended, if not shattered completely. Thus it is not surprising that the sixteen year old boy lost his faith soon after⁸ - for nobody apart from Marie had either taught him or influenced him positively in any way toward religion - and ^{he} found it impossible to settle down either to the atmosphere or to the discipline of the Jesuit school. So the intelligent and up until then hard working pupil abandoned his studies, but as his grandfather would not let him leave had to find solace in food and drink.⁹ Eventually the Jesuits asked for Charles to be removed as they could make no progress with him, so he completed his preparations for St. Cyr with a private tutor.

There were no complaints about his work in the first year, but when the novelty wore off Charles relied on his native intelligence to get him through the examinations. He indulged even more in food, drink and other amusements, throwing his money about regardless. But he was not happy,

for the physical unfitness which made it questionable whether he would be much use in the field concealed a deeper malaise. For there was now a second emptiness which nothing could fill. Not only was he separated from his cousin, but his grandfather had died at the beginning of February 1878.¹⁰ Besides this, about six weeks before he finished at St. Cyr and transferred to the cavalry school at Saumur, Charles reached his majority and came into his inheritance,¹¹ thus being both morally and financially free to do what he liked, if only he knew what it was he really wanted to do.

So De Foucauld's behaviour deteriorated even further and he added to his quest for diversions the adventure of going absent without leave. On one occasion this was for a couple of days wandering around the countryside disguised as a beggar, on another he simply wanted to attend an evening party.¹² All this attracted official comment and the usual punishments, but De Foucauld's charm and intelligence allowed him to complete his training, even if it meant passing out at the bottom of the list. However, while it was none of the army's concern that officers had mistresses, it drew the line at public scandal. So when De Foucauld was posted with his regiment to Africa and passed off his latest as the Vicomtesse, the humiliated authorities presented him with an ultimatum. Either she should go or he should resign from active service.

When things were expressed in this way there was only one option open to someone like De Foucauld. His resignation was accepted on 20 March 1881¹³ and he retired with his mistress to Evian, on Lake Geneva. Yet he was no happier here than he had been when organising wild parties which he was too depressed to enjoy.¹⁴ Something was missing. What it was he did not know, but some instinct moved him to seek it in battle. For as soon as he learned that his regiment was being sent into action to quell an insurrection in the

South Oranais he left everything to get permission to rejoin his companions, in the ranks if necessary.¹⁵ His request was granted, and so began the first stage of his rehabilitation.

EXPLORATIONS (1881-1884)

In those eight months fighting against Bou Amama¹⁶ De Foucauld distinguished himself as a brave and kind officer and felt for the first time a sense of responsibility and purpose. He was also impressed by the Arabs and particularly noted the religious faith displayed in their public prayers,¹⁷ a faith he was perhaps beginning to realise that he would like to possess himself. His next move was to apply for leave to mount an expedition to the south of the country, to learn more about the Arabs and as this was refused he resigned his commission and determined to go ahead on his own. His family thought this was just some new excess and had a legal trustee appointed to manage what remained of his fortune. However, De Foucauld was quite determined and methodically arranged to spend nearly a year in Algiers in order to study Hebrew, Arabic, and all available material which would assist him to penetrate the closed land of Morocco.

So he proved his seriousness by living as a student on 350 francs a month instead of the 4000 he was accustomed to run through,¹⁸ and eventually gained the approval of his judiciary counsel to undertake the journey. Advised by Oscar MacCarthy, the old explorer who now looked after the Algiers library, De Foucauld decided that the only way to be able to move freely in Morocco was to disguise himself as a Muslim or Jew. As it would be easier to pass as one of the universally despised and usually ignored Jews than to pretend to be a Muslim like the majority of the population, he chose the former alternative, taking as a guide a genuine Moroccan rabbi, Mardochee Abi Servur.¹⁹

After wasting a few days trying to find a way to enter the country from the eastern frontier, the two travellers took a steamer to Tangier and set out on their mission on 21 June 1883. It was to be an eleven month adventure²⁰ for the twenty-four year old ex-soldier and the experienced, but not totally reliable, veteran of several expeditions who was more than twice his age. The journey was difficult and dangerous. They were robbed several times, either openly or through the extortion of protection money for safe passage. They risked death not only at the hands of robbers, but also at the hands of the authorities who might have had them executed as spies. De Foucauld's disguise did not deceive the Muslim head of one town, but fortunately he and his family believed that the political future of Morocco lay with the French and so did everything he could to help De Foucauld in his work. This incident²¹ must have been some consolation to the explorer in the face of the frustration he was experiencing with his guide, for although he had to trust himself completely to the rabbi, the latter was neither as brave or as active as his master. Disagreements arose between them partly because Mardochee had not envisaged travelling via Tangier, and partly because he was being paid by the month and had a vested interest in travelling slowly.²² However, they stayed together and regained French territory on 23 May 1884.

All the while De Foucauld had taken advantage of his relative invisibility as a Jew and the deep folds in his clothes to carry and use his meteorological and survey instruments, recording his observations about everything he noticed in a minute notebook hidden in the palm of his hand.²³ The scientific, political and potentially military fruits of this work were to be embodied in De Foucauld's Reconnaissance au Maroc, which was finally written up and published in February 1888, although his achievement was recognised before this by the award of the Paris Société de Géographie gold medal on 24 April 1885.

In the words of the explorer Duveyrier, who reported on De Foucauld's manuscript to the Society, he had

...doubled, at least, the length of carefully surveyed itineraries in Morocco. He went over again and perfected 689 kilometres of the works of his predecessors, and added 2,250 other kilometres to them. As to astronomic geography, he has determined 45 longitudes and 40 latitudes; and where we only possessed a few dozen altitudes, he has brought back 3,000. You must see that we have to thank M. de Foucauld for opening what is indeed a new era, and one does not know what is to be most admired, these fine and useful results, or the self-sacrifice, courage, and ascetic abnegation, thanks to which this young French officer has obtained them.²⁴

As far as this study is concerned, the most significant statement occurs at the end of this eulogy, for De Foucauld was later to see that God had been at work in making him chaste through force of circumstances,²⁵ thus continuing the moral transformation which had begun with the Bou Amama campaign. Yet the first part of Duveyrier's appraisal is relevant too, for it marks a thoroughness which persisted from the conception of De Foucauld's undertaking in January 1882 until its consummation six years later. This determination can also be seen in the remarks he made during the expedition about his success with keeping Mardochee to the route he had planned²⁶ (although not at the pace De Foucauld wished), and his resolution to complete his itinerary. For, as he informed his sister, 'When you start with saying what you are going to do you must not come back without having done it'.²⁷

This declaration of principle, in the spirit of the family motto jamais arriere, might be applied to the whole of De Foucauld's life, although he would gradually come to appreciate that it was possible that God's will for his life was different from his own understanding of it. His later years in the Sahara would also reflect other characteristics first shown in the Reconnaissance, such as an eye for the beauty of scenery

as well as for its strategic significance, and also his grasp of social and political issues. However, before all this could come to pass years of preparation and mellowing had to intervene, preparation which was advanced one stage through another aspect of De Foucauld's experience in Morocco. For his account of his travels reveals a heightened sensibility for moral and religious matters concerning the Muslims and Jews that he met. There did not seem to him to be much connection between their everyday behaviour and their religious practices,²⁸ yet despite this he was impressed by the mute witness of the latter to life lived in the presence of God,²⁹ while besides this equivocal testimony there had been that shining exception to his general observations, his welcome by the pro-French marabout (or holy man) and his family.

Nearly twenty years later De Foucauld was to write of his plans for living in the Sahara in terms of establishing a Christian zaouïa of prayer and hospitality,³⁰ thus applying the Muslim model to a scheme he had up to then thought of in concepts related to the Trappist pattern of living. He was also to recount then how his encounter with Islam had challenged his twelve years of agnostic unconcern, neither believing anything nor denying anything.³¹ The experience drove him to study Islam and then the Bible,³² and he found the Muslim faith very attractive in its general simplicity compared with, for example, the complexity of the doctrine of the Trinity.³³ Later on he was to give dogmatic and moral reasons for preferring Christianity, but judging by what he wrote about wanting to put passages from the Koran into his prayers even after his return to faith,³⁴ one may suppose that his thinking during the two and a half years following his return to France was uncharacteristically confused and troubled.

TEMPORARY HAVEN (1884-1885)

This was indeed so, and on several fronts. For the first thing that happened when De Foucauld had visited his family and friends and settled down again in Algiers to write up his notes, was that he fell in love. As a convert from Protestantism Mlle Titre was a serious believer and had many conversations with De Foucauld on religious matters, so when he declared his wish to marry her he offered to leave her free to practise her faith, adding that he claimed an equal right not to do so, as he did not have faith himself. In return, she began praying for the conversion for this explorer who seemed to have come out of his Moroccan experience as mature as a man of forty-five.³⁵

Yet whatever Mlle Titre had awakened in De Foucauld she could not satisfy, for as soon as his family objected to the marriage on the grounds of her social standing he broke off the engagement. It is not quite clear whether they were only officially engaged for a week³⁶ or whether the relationship lingered on for another six months. But certainly when De Foucauld returned in March 1885 from a visit to his family the engagement was permanently broken. Why? it would seem that more was involved than his aunt's objection that the girl lacked an aristocratic background, for De Foucauld could easily have ignored such opposition, as he had in other matters. But there were other considerations, as he revealed when he later wrote that he had needed to be saved from that marriage and that his cousin had saved him.³⁷ Possibly this comment was only written from hindsight to signify her intervention had made it possible for him to be free to follow his monastic vocation. Perhaps there were more immediate matters to attend to.

All is necessarily speculation, but one might suggest the following.

Marie de Bondy may have given explicit advice, possibly affected by jealousy of losing the close relationship which had been reestablished between them after the break following her own marriage ten years previously. Her influence may have been indirect in that De Foucauld considered her own unhappiness in marriage a warning to him.³⁸ A third possibility is that in coming home to attend his sister's wedding³⁹ he was given a concrete example of what marriage entailed, and was not prepared to be domesticated or give up his independence. It might even be that it was only a temporary reaction from his year's travelling combined with thoughts of his sister's preparation for marriage that turned his mind in that direction at all.

Be that as it may, and not forgetting the possible bearing of his attitude to his former liaisons on the whole matter, the whole experience was unsettling. It would not be surprising if it was a contributory factor to his contraction of a fever in the summer,⁴⁰ and one motive for the brief west-east expedition from Algiers to the Tunisian seaboard that he undertook from mid September until mid January, although his stated reason was that he wished to compare that part of the Sahara with Morocco before his book was published.⁴¹

RETURN TO THE SOURCE (1886)

Back in Paris after a month's rest at Nancy, De Foucauld settled down to his studies and spent his evenings and Sundays at his aunt's home. There he was to enjoy the love of his family and also ^{to} meet other cultivated and attractive people who were sincere Catholics, and so gradually come to the conclusion that the faith must be sensible enough for him to consider seriously.⁴² Certainly he could not find it in the pagan philosophers he read,⁴³ while a Christian book⁴⁴ he picked up transmitted a novel sense of 'warmth and beauty' to him. Something impelled him to visit churches

and pray 'O God, if you exist, let me know of your existence'.⁴⁵ Then, following the same logic as he did when looking for a teacher to instruct him in Arabic, De Foucauld decided to find a learned priest to teach him about the truths of the faith.⁴⁶

The man he chose was in fact already a friend of the family, being his cousin's spiritual director; and also well equipped to meet his needs. For the abbé Huvelin was at one and the same time a scholar⁴⁷ whom De Foucauld could respect on that level, a man whose holiness enabled him to communicate with anyone, and a wise and experienced director who could help such diverse people as the philosopher Littré,⁴⁸ the theologian Baron von Hügel,⁴⁹ and a priest such as Père Hyacinthe,⁵⁰ troubled and isolated by new currents of thought which were beginning to penetrate the church.

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So, one morning at the end of October 1886 De Foucauld went into St. Augustin, the abbé's church, to ask for religious instruction. However, Huvelin saw that he did not need to know about God, but to know and acknowledge Him, so he ordered the enquirer to make his confession and then go to communion.

De Foucauld must have felt that day that all his searchings and wanderings were now over; but, as the next section of this biographical outline shows, they had only just begun. For if it took him twenty eight years to discover that as a man he was a child of God, it was going to take nearly as long again to find out what kind of man that child should become. At first it would seem that there should be no continuity between the first man and the second, as if the latter was a judgment of the former rather than a fulfilment of it. That is how De Foucauld was to perceive it until he eventually realised that his personality could not be obliterated. Whether or not he consciously accepted that it should not, is another question altogether, but assessments must wait until the evidence is assembled.

2 - 'HERE WE HAVE NO ABIDING CITY':
THE PERPETUAL QUEST (1886-1916)

A more summary treatment may be given to the second half of De Foucauld's life, since its details will be unfolded in discussion of various aspects of his concept of the imitatio Christi. In brief, these thirty years may be divided into five periods, in each of which he explored and tested his vocation. So there were questions as to whether he should be a monk rather than a layman (1886-1890), a Trappist (1890-97), a hermit in the Holy land (1897-1900), a priest in an Algerian garrison on the edge of the Sahara desert (1901-05), or finally, with the indigenous nomads at its centre (1905-16).

Diverse as these rôles were, they were held together by De Foucauld's firm belief that he was called to imitate the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth, a belief which, as will be seen, varied from time to time in content; but on the whole involved seeking to life in a family-sized community that shared everything with its neighbours. So, despite the fact that De Foucauld was to be continually disappointed, either in his hopes that existing structures would allow him to achieve his ideal, or that he would be able to establish new ones, he had this powerful motivation to carry on through everything, although it might also be said that his invincible will (usually, but not always, supported by an iron constitution), was just as an important factor as his motivation. Yet such an assessment must reckon with the fact that a strong will, allied to a mind that tended to think concretely and to entertain only one idea at a time, could often be the source of its own problems.

VOCATION TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE (1886-1890)

From the time of his conversion De Foucauld was convinced that he should devote his whole life to God and it seemed obvious that this entailed taking vows.⁵² However, it was not so clear which Order he should enter, so he asked his publisher to send him three books which might help in this decision. These were Montalembert's Les Moines d'Occident, Arnauld d'Andilly's translation of the Vies des Pères du Desert, and Abbé Fouard's La vie de Jésus.⁵³ One suspects that the second of these had the greatest influence on De Foucauld, for although the first was written as an apologia for the monastic life in an anti-clerical age, it was largely concerned with the development of monasticism in Britain. The third book was an officially recommended study,⁵⁴ strong on geographical and historical details which no doubt gained in perspective from the author's own travels in the Holy Land. It was also supported by patristic and contemporary notes on the Greek text, so it was more of a modern 'biography' of Jesus than a devotional or mystical work, although the author's devotional purpose shone through in places.⁵⁵ Thus, quite apart from its general popularity at the time, one may surmise that it was immediately attractive to an explorer like De Foucauld, and was not inimical to the development of his mystical side which took place chiefly under the influence of the writings of Teresa of Avila.⁵⁶ Be that as it may, when he looked back fourteen years later, he described this time as one of searching for the Order where he would find the most exact imitation of Jesus, since the gospel showed that the first commandment was to love God wholeheartedly, and 'everyone knows that the first effect of love is imitation'.⁵⁷

There seems to be no incontrovertible evidence of the influence of the lives of the desert fathers on De Foucauld, although they may be responsible for the wish he was later to express 'To follow the examples

of the solitaries who cut out caves in the mountain where our Lord fasted in order to fast all their lives at his feet';⁵⁸ but they could be the source of his understanding that real poverty was the hallmark of an imitator of Christ. For it was the visible poverty of a Trappist of the abbey of Fontgombault that he visited for the first time in August 1887 which made a lasting impression on him and attracted him to that order.⁵⁹ He was also to remember for a long time the poverty and filth of the streets of Nazareth which he saw on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land which he undertook on Huvelin's orders the following Christmas.⁶⁰

When De Foucauld returned he made retreats with the Benedictines at Solesmes (April) and the Trappists at Soligny (May). Then, after consecrating himself to the Sacred Heart at Montmartre (6 June), he spent part of the summer with his cousin before making a third retreat with the Trappists of Notre-Dame des Neiges - Our Lady of the Snows.⁶¹ This monastery in the commune of Saint-Laurent les Bains (Ardèche) had several attractions for him.⁶² It had not been founded long enough to acquire communal wealth. It was poor and likely to remain so, both on account of its small size and its situation. Its name was no misnomer, for at that altitude winter could last half the year, while even in summer such terrain produced little harvest. Furthermore, on account of the 1879 decrees against religious congregations, it had founded a priory in Syria by the name of Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur.⁶³ This refuge was built in a similar environment and was even poorer. Apart from the stone-built chapel, chapter hall and stables, its buildings were constructed with cob walls and roofed with boards or thatch.⁶⁴ If there was poverty anywhere it must be there, De Foucauld must have thought.

No doubt his mind was made up by the end of this retreat, but he reconsidered his decision the following month in an Ignatian 'election'

at Clamart.⁶⁵ His outlook remained unchanged, however, so De Foucauld arranged to enter Notre-Dame des Neiges, with the intention of transferring as soon as possible to the outpost at Akbès.⁶⁶ Hence on 15 January 1890, after taking leave of Huvelin, his sister and cousin the day before - a separation that he was to refer to frequently in the years ahead as his greatest sacrifice⁶⁷ - Vicomte Charles Eugène de Foucauld entered the monastery and took the habit and the name Frère Marie Albéric ten days later. Six months afterwards he started on the journey to Syria, arriving at his chosen home on July 11.⁶⁸

TRAPPIST PHASE (1890-1897)

Yet, all was not to be sweetness and light. For even Akbès did not exhibit the kind of poverty he was looking for, as he noted after being there for three months.⁶⁹ Furthermore, a year after this De Foucauld was concerned about being put to study theology in order to proceed to ordination;⁷⁰ a prospect that appalled him as it did not fit in with his idea of following the Jesus, of whom, to quote a phrase from one of Huvelin's sermons that he never forgot, it might be said: 'You have so taken the lowest place that no one has been able to take it from you'.⁷¹

These thoughts remained in the background throughout De Foucauld's noviciate and the period following his taking of simple vows. But they were never far away, and soon he began to think of establishing his own, more perfect foundation. Thoughts which had troubled him since January 1893 were put on paper in July and September, and then discussed with his monastic superiors and with Huvelin.⁷² All counselled patience at a time of instability and temptation, so De Foucauld did his best to carry on obediently, but he could not help exclaiming when he returned from a visit to a nearby hamlet, 'What a difference between this home and our dwellings!

I long for Nazareth.'⁷³

This longing continued to grow, and Huvelin came to believe that De Foucauld had such a fixed idea that he probably would not remain a Trappist. So when the inevitable question was asked, the director gave permission for a formal request to leave to be made. However, for some reason Huvelin reversed his decision soon after,⁷⁴ so De Foucauld had to be content with composing a Rule which might never be followed. But when this composition⁷⁵ was sent to Huvelin, the latter realised that his protégé's break with the Trappist spirit was going to be permanent, and renewed his permission for official recognition of this to be sought.⁷⁶

Yet as a final test of De Foucauld's obedience, the Abbot General of the Order did not answer his request for dispensation from his vows directly, but sent him to the monastery at Staouéli, Algiers. There De Foucauld learned that he was to go to Rome for two years' theological study at the Gregorian university.⁷⁷ So to Rome he went, arriving at the end of October and settling down to his studies, knowing full well that the point of no return would soon be upon him. For 2 February 1897 would be the fifth anniversary of his simple vows,⁷⁸ by which time he should either have confirmed them by taking solemn vows, or left the Order. But the study period arranged for him would seem to rule out the latter alternative.

Yet , although he was convinced on 15 January in his own mind of his special vocation, De Foucauld came to a state of total disinterestedness in the following week, ready to joyfully accept God's will in the General's decision, whatever it might be.⁷⁹

Unexpectedly, the sacrifice of his dream was not required. For the General in Council decided on 23 January that De Foucauld should be allowed to go after the life of 'abjection, humble manual work and deep obscurity',⁸⁰ he had sought for so long, preferably guided by obedience to Huvelin.⁸¹

The latter advised him not to become a member of any community or to seek to found his own, but to attach himself rather loosely to one for the sake of its spiritual resources.⁸² So De Foucauld, having been dispensed from his Trappist vows on 14 February, and made private ones of perpetual chastity and perpetual poverty - which he defined as an undertaking never to possess or use more than a poor workman might⁸³ - set off for the Holy Land in order to live the life of Jesus of Nazareth as literally as possible.

On the way he retraced the steps of his 1887 pilgrimage, finally arriving in Nazareth on the evening of 5 March.⁸⁴ Five days later he began his new life as a hermit, living (at his own request) in the garden shed of the convent of the Poor Clares. By day he earned his keep as their servant, doing odd jobs (rather absent-mindedly and inefficiently⁸⁵) and assisting in the chapel, whilst a great part of De Foucauld's nights were spent in prayer and meditation, for he continued to follow a monastic timetable, rising at 2 or 3 a.m.⁸⁶ after about five hours sleep. All in all, it seemed to be just the kind of life he had been looking for, a true 'imitation of the hidden life of our Lord'.⁸⁷

HERMIT IN THE HOLY LAND (1897-1900)

Yet once more De Foucauld was to be disappointed, for the reality of Nazareth also did not match up to his ideals. Although the rhythm of simple manual work alternating with adoration of the blessed sacrament could not have suited him better, there were practical problems which intruded on it. Despite his wish to remain incognito, it was not long before people both inside and outside the convent recognised the Vicomte who had toured the Holy Land ten years previously, while the Sisters particularly threatened his desire to be treated like the poorest stranger

in their attempts to alleviate his excessive austerities, even if that meant no more than providing him with suitable clothes for winter, or re-stuffing the prayer kneelers which he used so continuously.

This by itself would not have shaped De Foucauld's life in any particular way, but he was strongly influenced by the Abbess of the Poor Clares at Jerusalem: a doughty individual, who had already founded three convents,⁸⁸ and who, as soon as she came to know him, recognised a kindred spirit. So Mother Elizabeth du Calvaire encouraged him to seek a companion or two to share his life, and also to take Holy Orders so that he might be the convent chaplain.⁸⁹

The first suggestion matched the dream which De Foucauld had continued to secretly cherish, but his attempt to persuade one of the former novices at Akbes to join him failed. However, he continued composing the Rule⁹⁰ which he had begun on this unsuccessful trip to Alexandretta, and sent it to Huvelin on 22 January 1899.⁹¹ The second suggestion, that he become the convent chaplain, was unsettling, and it took De Foucauld a two month retreat (19 March - 21 May) to regain his equilibrium. At the end of it he decided that although he would no longer reject the idea of ordination out of hand, his vocation was to be a Hermit of the Sacred Heart, in token of which decision he changed his signature from 'Frère Charles' to 'Frère Charles de Jesus', in accordance with the Rule he had composed in January.⁹² But that provisional sketch was now fully expanded into a set of forty Constitutions with an accompanying commentary,⁹³ the whole thing being read in the context of the Rule of St. Augustine which preceded it, for De Foucauld had transferred from the more complex Rule of St. Benedict at the end of the previous October.⁹⁴

There was no sign that his ambition to collect a group of twenty hermits around him would ever be realised, but he clung to the basic hermit-

priest idea. So, although De Foucauld toyed briefly with the idea of embracing a more active life as a servant or nurse in one of the sisters of St. Vincent de Paul's hospices,⁹⁵ another project appealed to him far more. This was a scheme to purchase the Mount of Beatitudes⁹⁶ and establish himself as a hermit-priest on its summit. As De Foucauld understood it,⁹⁷ this would have several advantages. It would be more in keeping with his vocation, it would be of spiritual rather than material benefit to others, and it would also make him independent of the Poor Clares.

Although one can appreciate that De Foucauld felt himself to be in a false situation in being so kindly treated by the nuns, there is another side of his wish for independence to be considered. It might be called pride or inflexibility, certainly it was rather removed from the outlook commended by St. Paul: that combination of perseverance in a vocation (Phil 3.12-14), with freedom from external conditions that enabled him to assert '...I have learned, in whatever state I am to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound; in any and all circumstances I have learned the secret of facing plenty and hunger, abundance and want' (Phil 4.11f.).

Indeed, De Foucauld was very much concerned with yet another external condition: time. For he felt that the negotiations for the purchase of the Mount of Beatitudes had to be conducted in secrecy and haste lest the property fall into the hands of other people. The land belonged to the Turkish government, which was unwilling to sell to any religious body, but De Foucauld thought that he could carry off the deal as a layman, making use of funds borrowed from his relatives.⁹⁸ In the event, the money thus importuned was paid over to no purpose (as in other dealings between the government and Christians at this time), but De Foucauld

continued with his plan to seek ordination and to follow his Rule somewhere in the Holy Land: a scheme which would unite external and internal aspects of the imitatio Christi in that Christ's priestly office would be followed in a place where Jesus of Nazareth had actually lived or worked.

However, before either of these things could be undertaken De Foucauld had to obtain ecclesiastical sanction. So he went to Jerusalem to see the Patriarch,⁹⁹ who asked for time to consider what he must have thought a strange request. However, impetuous as ever, De Foucauld interpreted this caution as a sign from God that he was not to proceed. Hence, when the Patriarch sought a second meeting it was found that De Foucauld had already set off back to Nazareth. Yet despite Huvelin's wishes and instructions¹⁰⁰ he did not stay there, for the conviction that he should become a priest remained as strong as ever.¹⁰¹ Now that ordination at Jerusalem appeared blocked, it was necessary to put into operation his alternative scheme¹⁰² and return to France.

So De Foucauld left the Holy Land at the beginning of August and met a rather surprised¹⁰³ Huvelin in Paris. Their reunion was short, as the monk immediately set out for Rome. This visit appears to have been undertaken primarily on behalf of the Abbess of the Poor Clares at Jerusalem, who was seeking to establish a house at Rome at this time,¹⁰⁴ but De Foucauld made use of the opportunity to do some theological study¹⁰⁵ and perhaps seek expert advice about his proposed Rule. Be that as it may, he was back at Notre-Dame des Neiges, the place where he had set out on the religious life nearly eleven years previously, on 29 September 1900.¹⁰⁶

Preparation for ordination took an uneventful course, marked only by the reception of minor orders (7 October), ordination to the subdiaconate (22 December), the diaconate (23 March 1901), and finally to the priesthood (9 June 1901). There was, though, one significant develop-

ment in his thought. For De Foucauld came to see that it was not necessary for him to return to the Holy Land. In his sub-diaconate retreat he had envisaged beginning there, then going on to a mission country, Saharan Africa.¹⁰⁷ Six months later, while preparing for ordination to be priesthood, De Foucauld realised that the first stage was not essential, and the needs of the second were more urgent. There were plenty of priests and religious in the Holy Land, but very few in Morocco and adjacent regions where the population was very much greater.¹⁰⁸

AFRICA AGAIN: LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS (1901-1905)

In the light of his new missionary perspective De Foucauld wrote to one of his former army colleagues, Henry de Castries,¹⁰⁹ to find which would be the most suitable place to go to. It transpired that life was still too unsettled in Morocco itself, so the former explorer had to be content with a French garrison at Beni-Abbès, an oasis some 150 km from the border. So, having applied for the necessary ecclesiastical and military authorisations, De Foucauld left Notre-Dame des Neiges on 6 September to begin his journey to North Africa. There was about a month to wait at Algiers for the permits to be issued, but eventually, on 28 October 1901 (almost exactly fifteen years since his conversion), he set eyes on the first of the two centres he was to work from for the rest of his life.¹¹⁰

The oasis boasted between six and seven thousand palm trees and supported some 130 native families, besides the French administration and three companies of soldiers. De Foucauld quickly noticed that the settlement was very compact and soon managed to find the ideal place to build his own fraternity. There was a little uninhabited valley close by, but hidden from view, which would only need irrigation to be transformed from

a desert into a fruitful garden.¹¹¹ So the land was purchased and construction of the fraternity begun, with a great deal of help from the military¹¹² and guidance from the plans incorporated in De Foucauld's Rule.

Everything was undertaken as if the hoped-for twenty brothers would soon be arriving. Meanwhile, De Foucauld set out to keep the fraternity timetable¹¹³ and do his best to run everything single-handed, although he was quickly to be overwhelmed by the demands of his numerous visitors. Such dogged devotion to a dream might well have continued for years if it were not for two things. The first, perhaps the most important, was that De Foucauld was not entirely single-minded about the form his fraternity should take. For besides his plans of 1896 and 1899 for buildings to accommodate twenty or more brothers, the idea that he had expressed in 1893¹¹⁴ and 1897¹¹⁵ for a much smaller group was still alive. This alternative was closely associated with an aspect of the imitatio Christi, in that a small group would be more closely conformed to the life Jesus presumably led at Nazareth with his family.

However, this latter way of looking at things had to be brought back to consciousness. So the second element that contributed to De Foucauld's change of outlook was the visit of Monseigneur Guérin, the Apostolic Prefect of the Sahara, to evaluate the first twenty months of the work at Beni-Abbès. They talked for a week at the beginning of June 1903, Guérin suggesting new approaches,¹¹⁶ De Foucauld instantly rebutting them, but later reconsidering.¹¹⁷ The result of this conference was that the latter lessened his concentration on founding a substantial and permanent base for penetration westwards into Morocco (although he still hoped it would be possible). Instead, he was willing to consider the needs of the vast desert region to the south of Beni-Abbès and to go and live there on a much simpler scale. To this end he joined a military tour

of the area which took him away from the fraternity for the whole of 1904.¹¹⁸

The time was spent partly in getting to know the indigenous nomadic population, and partly in looking for suitable places for the Little Brothers or other monks and nuns to settle, although, as it turned out, the first of these undertakings had the most lasting results. For De Foucauld was never to attract any followers for more than a few weeks, but the ethnographical and lexicographical studies begun then were to continue for twelve years, their successful completion only being cut short by his death. Naturally, all this was hidden from him at this stage, and the studies seemed to be a temporary activity which he wished to finish as soon as possible so that he could return to his normal pattern of life. Yet although De Foucauld was happy to return to Beni-Abbès, he felt that it was getting too busy for the kind of life he or his companions should be leading.¹¹⁹

MOVING ON AND JOURNEYING IN (1905-1916)

So, unsettled once more by the difference between the ideal and the real, De Foucauld set out on a second trip at the beginning of May 1905 to consider further the alternative locations for a fraternity he had noted previously. Thus it came to pass that on 13 August¹²⁰ he left the expedition in order to set up a hermitage at a little hamlet called Tamanrasset.

This spot in the heart of the Sahara, at an altitude of about 1500 m and surrounded by mountains nearly as high again, seemed just the right place for De Foucauld to settle permanently, as it seemed unlikely that the population would increase much beyond the twenty families who lived there,¹²¹ while even they were nomadic and would often leave him in greater solitude. But there was his responsibility to the people at

Beni-Abbès to consider, so after a first stay of over a year at Tamanrasset, De Foucauld returned north. He decided that he should spend three months each year at his former base, allow three months for travelling to and from the south, and spend the other half of the year at Tamanrasset.¹²²

This division between two centres was broadly followed for the remaining nine years of his life, although the carefully planned timetable was to be affected by his visits to France in 1908-9, 1911 and 1913, while the outbreak of the First World War made him decide to stay at Tamanrasset for the duration. So the last three years of his life (22 November 1913 - 1 December 1916) were spent in the near-solitude he had always been seeking; yet paradoxically his situation as the only trusted European in the Sahara made him more central to everything that went on than he would have been anywhere else. However, by this time De Foucauld had lost his concern about the importance of being unimportant. He accepted his gifts as well as his limitations, his background as well as his ideals, a small but significant sign of all this being a final change in his signature. 'Vicomte Charles Eugène de Foucauld' had become 'Frère Marie-Alberic', then 'Frère Charles', followed by 'Frère Charles de Jésus'. In 1912 the secular and the religious had been combined in the signature 'Frère Charles de Foucauld', while everything came almost full circle with the gradual adoption of 'Charles de Foucauld' from the end of 1913.¹²³

So those twenty-three years had eventually given back to De Foucauld everything except his fortune and title. But from a comparison between photographs of the sullen and bored young man and the prematurely aged but joyful hermit, one can easily see that he had gained other treasures of much greater value. Yet it would be wrong to convey the impression by this brief account that the journey to self-fulfilment was either simple

or pleasant. For while a summary can point out the landmarks of a long search for an ideal, and also give some inkling of De Foucauld's tremendous strength of purpose; it is not the best way to show the other side of the picture. For De Foucauld is also an example of a man struggling with doubts and hesitations in the context of a very severe understanding of God's requirements. Over the years there was a gradual shift in De Foucauld's motivation from the obedience-centred compulsion that came naturally to him by temperament, upbringing, and the cultural and spiritual milieu of the time. But the assimilation of a love-based attraction to God from reading and worship was a lengthy process.

It is not easy to establish the course of this shift, for despite the wealth of information, one is still left with the task of weighing up definite statements against more equivocal actions. There have to be subjective judgments both about particular actions and concerning the relationship between deeds and words in a belief system. If it be supposed that one reveals the unconscious and the other the conscious aspect of the personality, what is the connection between the two? How much is consistency - which is rated an important factor in the assessment of a teacher¹²⁴ - to be prized? Alternatively, what value is to be placed on the pattern of advance and retreat resulting from growth and deficiency motivation¹²⁵ which may be observed at work in man?

Such questions are only raised at this point in order to indicate the difficulties of making judgments, for the present task is the prior one of assembling the evidence that De Foucauld's life did follow such a pattern of advance and retreat. Little more can be said about the period before his conversion, but the years which followed are well documented. No doubt the pattern could be traced at more than one level, but since this is a study of the theory and practice of De Foucauld's understanding of the

imitatio Christi, it must follow that theme, beginning with his first decisive action based on that doctrine.

RESPONSE TO THE CALL: PRELUDE TO AN ANALYSIS

De Foucauld, it will be remembered, entered the Trappists with several preconceptions about the kind of life he was hoping to lead for the rest of his days. Not only did he share the common belief that to live the Christian life in its perfect form one should become a monk, he also had a definite idea of what that life should consist. In responding to the command to love God with all one's heart, one should seek to imitate Jesus perfectly; 'for everyone knows that the first effect of love is imitation'.¹²⁶ Convinced that he was called to imitate both the 'hidden life of the poor and humble worker of Nazareth', and also the sacrifices of Jesus 'who made so many',¹²⁷ De Foucauld left his family, entered the most penitential order and asked to be transferred to its poorest house.

Rather than just adopting Jesus' life-style, as he understood it, in taking the 'lowest place', and sharing his abjection, poverty, humble work, and obscurity in some secular occupation, he felt called out from the world. One reason was the one just mentioned, imitation of Christ was not possible there. De Foucauld felt 'the futility and falseness of the life of the world' and 'the vast distance that there is between the perfect life, the life of the Gospel, and the lives men live in the world'.¹²⁸ The other reason was that monastic life would have penitential and contemplative aspects which he considered to be part of his vocation. As he told his sister, he wished to become a monk

...to accompany our Lord, as much as is possible, in his griefs. It is to be buried in our Lord with St. Paul, that is to say elegi abjectus esse, because our Lord was, it is to follow the example of the solitaries who cut out caves in the mountain where our Lord fasted, so as to fast all their lives at his feet.¹²⁹

The guarantee of such an environment of love and sacrifice, silence and solitude was the rule of enclosure, a guarantee he did his very best to hang on to whatever happened, even when his circumstances changed and he was no longer under monastic vows, for his love of solitude and silence went back to his childhood days. It was part of his make up and not something that he adopted for religious reasons. The other important function of the rule of enclosure was to give his life a framework in time and space. The enclosure was the clearly delineated place where the monastic Rule and daily timetable could be followed with as little interruption as possible from any outside intrusion. The obligations of charity and hospitality were sacred, but individuals could be deputed to fulfil these while the rest of the community continued its cycle of prayer and work.

All this, and more, is expressed in a letter which De Foucauld wrote three months after entering the monastery, to one of his closest friends. It breathes the spirit of the Rule of St. Benedict. The ascetical element is there, but it is not seen as an end in itself, but as a means to love.

For,

...prayer, work in the fields, abstinence, poverty, obedience, abjection, solitude, silence are the body of our life: love, love of God, love of our Lord Jesus Christ is the soul, the foundation of it, and at the same time love of all men which is the inseparable consequence of the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. Why did I enter La Trappe?... Through love, pure love. Our Lord Jesus Christ lived poor, working, fasting, obscure and despised, like the lowest worker, he passed days and nights alone in the desert; I love Our Lord Jesus Christ, although with a

heart which wishes to love more and better, but still I love Him, and I cannot endure to lead a life other than His, an easy and honoured life when His was the hardest and most despised life that there has ever been. I don't want to go through life first class whilst the one I love went through it in the lowest.... Be happy with me about this new existence, an existence wholly of sacrifices to accompany Him whose life on earth was only sacrifices.

De Foucauld went on to say that the supreme sacrifice was separation from his family and his few, but very close friends. But he hoped to see his correspondent again:

Trappists never travel but they give hospitality to all, hospitality to all who come is one of the first duties of the Order and one of the pleasantest to perform. The door is open night and day and two monks prostrating themselves before the arriving guest, adore in his person the guest sent by God.¹³⁰ May I bow before you one day thus! - I have no need to tell you that I do not forget you, that I will not forget you in my life time, that my heart which is tenderly attached to you will be attached more to you every day here, (for), the more one loves God the more one loves people My whole life is, and I hope will be, love of God, love of men.¹³¹

Yet this balanced enthusiasm did not last long and De Foucauld soon found that he could not realise his vocation in the Trappist way of life. For in some ways it was too easy for him in the sense that it did not demand the sacrifices that he thought appropriate, although in other ways one might say that the more searching sacrifice required of his pride and independence was too great, the test of the insecurity of simple anonymity too difficult to bear at that stage. Certainly the years ahead were ones of continual seeking to define his call and achieve it through a Rule of his own devising.

In the process there was a continual tension between his vocation to imitate Christ and his own definition of it, which sought to restrict its interpretation to a Rule-governed monastic and contemplative existence. In addition, there was always the possibility that the keeping of rules in

general, and the rule of enclosure in particular, might become ends rather than means.

Although each of these elements of his thinking were not equally prominent at all stages of his spiritual pilgrimage, they were to continually interact with each other and more especially with the concrete situations that he found himself in. Sometimes a concept would define the way circumstances were perceived; at other times it would be modified by what took place. For this reason De Foucauld's thinking on these themes has to be approached from both directions in the following chapters.

Chapter Four outlines the various components that went to make up De Foucauld's understanding of what it meant to follow 'In the steps of the Master', -so it deals with De Foucauld's approach to the Bible, his grasp of the traditional understanding of imitatio Christi (with special reference to St. Teresa of Avila), and the influence of contemporaries on his outlook. This chapter ends with a consideration of the place of rules in De Foucauld's life as an introduction to the next topic: a study of the influence of the concept of 'enclosure'.

Chapter Five, 'A monk out of his cloister is a fish out of water', traces the way De Foucauld's firm position on this matter was gradually attenuated by circumstances. For this reason it fills in much of the detail of the external events of his life in the Sahara which were briefly touched on in the biographical sketch above.

Chapter Six, 'I long for Nazareth! ', covers similar ground, but follows the fortunes of the formal principle of De Foucauld's vocation and shows how it was modified over the years. An attempt is then made to assess the degree of continuity or integration between the different stages of De Foucauld's life before proceeding to consider his contribution to the understanding of imitatio Christi as the ideal of Christian existence.

1 - THE LONG ROAD TO FAITH (1858-1886)

STORMY WATERS (1858-1881)

1. R. Bazin, Charles de Foucauld, (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1931²) from the French of 1921, p.1. This and other fundamental studies and sources are cited hereafter by the abbreviations given in Part II of the Bibliography. Where no specific reference is given for biographical information it has been based on the relevant chapters of B, IS, TPF.
2. De Foucauld's breviary (dating from 1898? cf., LAH 16.1.1898, p.59) is inscribed with the names of both relatives and his oft-repeated motto 'Live as though you should die as a martyr today'; cf., A. Fremantle, Desert Calling (London: Hollis and Carter, 1950) p.150.
3. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 100).
4. The judgment of his judiciary counsel in May 1883 (IS, p.17).
5. Cf., infra Chapter Five passim.
6. IS, p.23.
7. At least that long, for he often remembered her nineteenth birthday (18.8.1869), cf., Comte d'Orglandes, 'Charles de Foucauld en Normandie', CCF, 8 pp.57-64.
8. LMB 24.2.1893 (B, p.6).
9. Cf., M. Trouncer, Charles de Foucauld (London: Harrap, 1972) p.34.
10. IS, p.27.
11. IS, p.28.
12. TPF, p.35.
13. IS, p.31.
14. Cf., F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 101).
15. IS, p.32.

EXPLORATIONS (1881-1884)

16. Cf., TPF, Appendix XII, pp.421f.
17. Cf., P. Nord, Le Père de Foucauld, Français d'Afrique (Paris: Fayard, 1957), p.98.
18. IS, p.35.

19. Cf., B, pp.23-34.
20. Cf., B, pp.16-60.
21. Cf., B, pp.44-49.
22. B, p.33.
23. B, p.35.
24. B, p.58.
25. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 103).
26. B, p.33.
27. B, p.55.
28. B, p.40.
29. LHC 8.7.1901 (p.86).
30. LHC 15.7.1901, 12.3.1902 (pp.90, 123).
31. LHC 14.8.1901 (p.95).
32. LHC 8.7.1901 (p.86).
33. LHC 14.8.1901 (p.94).
34. LHC 14.8.1901 (p.97).

TEMPORARY HAVEN (1884-1885)

35. From her deposition IS, p.40, cf., CCF, 25, pp.36-38, for the Cause of Beatification (15.8.1927).
36. IS, p.40.
37. LMB 20.9.1889 (IS, p.40).
38. The Suggestion of Trouncer, op.cit., p.70.
39. To M. Raymond de Blic, 30.12.1885 (IS, p.40).
40. IS, p.41.
41. IS, p.42. This motive was supported by a second trip to Tunis (15.9.1886) which was intended to last a month, but was cut short by news of his cousin's illness, cf., IS, pp.52, 59.

RETURN TO THE SOURCE (1886)

42. LHC 14.8.1901 (p.95). The parallel account (cf., IS, pp.55-58. in his private meditations at Nazareth four years earlier speaks of the influence of a single person (F.F. 218 (01-IX.1,105f), who one may presume was his cousin Marie.
43. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 104).
44. Ibid., possibly referring to Bossuet's les élévations sur les Mysteres (IS, p.49).
45. LHC 14.8.1901 (pp.95f).
46. Ibid.
47. Cf., the testimony of Baron Friedrich Von Hügel to Huvelin as 'a distinguished Hellenist, a man of exquisitely piercing, humorous mind, he could readily have become a great editor or interpreter of Greek philosophical or patristic texts, or a remarkable church historian. But this deep and heroic personality deliberately preferred to "write in souls"-' Eternal Life (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1912) pp.374f. Von Hügel frequently expressed his appreciation of Huvelin's sanctity and wisdom, although he usually avoided public avowal of it to prevent Huvelin being labelled as a modernist. Cf., M. De La Bedoyere, The Life of Baron Von Hügel (London: Dent, 1951) p.339; cf., pp.42-45, 262, 334f.
48. Cf., M.-Th. Louis-Lefebvre, Abbé Huvelin, Apostle of Paris (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1967), pp.81-99.
49. Ibid., pp.145-58.
50. Ibid., pp.160-3; cf., A. Houtin, Le Père Hyacinthe Prêtre Solitaire 1893-1912 (Paris: Libraire Émile Nourry, 1924) pp.266-71, 308f.
51. 'Between the 27th and the 30th', F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 106), 'the 29th or the 30th' IAH 15.10.1898 (p.89).

2 - 'HERE WE HAVE NO ABIDING CITY':
THE PERPETUAL QUEST (1886-1916)

VOCATION TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE (1886-1890)

52. Cf., IHC 14.8.1901 (p.97).
53. 30.6.1887 (IS, pp.74f).
54. Leo XIII gave the author a papal benediction, 2.4.1881, cf., preface to ET: The Christ the Son of God 2 Vol. (London: Longmans, 1891).
55. Cf., the prayer at the end of the work, echoed by De Foucauld: LPJ 24.1.1897 (LFT, p.117/LD, p.52).
56. Cf., infra, pp. 225-262.
57. IHC 14.8.1901, (p.97).
58. IMB 20.9.1889 (IS, p.102).
59. IS, p.80.
60. IS, pp.83,81.
61. IS, pp.93f.
62. Cf., IS, p.95; LFT Appendix 2, pp.303-6.
63. Cf., LFT Appendix 3, pp.307-13.
64. B, p.85.
65. IS, p.97.
66. LPE 30.11.1889 (IFT, p.19/ID p.11).
67. IS, pp.98f.
68. IS, pp.109, 111f, (July 17 is a misprint cf., LFT, p.27, B, p.83).

TRAPPIST PHASE (1890-1897)

69. LAH 30.10.1890 (p.5).
70. IS, pp.128f.
71. c1889, cf., IS, p.79 note 45.
72. IS, pp.138f.
73. IMB 10.4.1894 (p.52).

74. LAH* 16.10.1895 (IS, p.161).
75. F.F. 253. Rule for the Congrégation des petits Frères de Jésus completed 14.6.1896. Text in TPF, pp.136-45.
76. IS, p.169.
77. IS, p.170.
78. LMB 15.1.1897 (p.69).
79. IS, p.136.
80. F.F. 218 (01-X, 108).
81. IS, pp.184f, 190.
82. LAH* 27.1.1897 (p.43).
83. IS, p.192.
84. IS, p.195.
85. B, pp.113, 116.
86. IS, p.197.
87. LAH 16.1.1898, (p.62).

HERMIT IN THE HOLY LAND (1897-1900)

88. IS, p.233, note 194.
89. Cf., LAH 15.10.1898 (pp.87-95).
90. Règlement Provisoire des Ermites du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus and Règle définitive. (Preliminary chapter). Epiphany 1899, as given by J.F. Six in Revue Ascétique, 141 (1960) pp.73-83, following his article 'Le Pere de Foucauld et ses recherches des fondations evangeliques', pp.64-72.
91. IS, pp.233f, 239 note 225.
92. IS, pp.240ff.
93. F.F. 233.
94. IS, p.242.
95. LAH 22.3.1900, 26.3.1900 (pp.122, 125).
96. LAH 30.3.1900 - 1.6.1900 (pp.131-173).

97. LAH 26.4.1900, (pp.133-7), cf., F.F. 224 (01-IX.11 129-49).
98. LAH 4.5.1900, cf., 14.5.1900 (pp.142, 148f.).
99. 22 June, B, p.133f.; cf., LAH 7.5.1900, 14.5.1900 (pp.146, 150ff.).
100. LAH* 20.5.1900, 25.7.1900 (pp.179f.).
101. IS, p.255.
102. LAH 14.5.1900, 29.5.1900 (pp.153, 167ff.).
103. B, p.136.
104. IS, p.257 note 59.
105. IDM 1.9.1900, 4.9.1900 (LFT, pp.183-5/ID pp.79-81).
106. IS, p.258.
107. F.F. 225-1 (01-X, 22).
108. F.F. 228 (01-X, 82).

AFRICA AGAIN: LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS (1901-1905)

109. LHC 23.6.1901, 3.7.1901 (pp.83-8).
110. IS, p.270.
111. LHC 29.11.1901 (p.113).
112. B, p.152f.
113. B, p.158f.
114. LAH 22.9.1893 (pp.30-33).
115. F.F. 218 (01-IX.I, 192).
116. B, pp.189-91.
117. Cf., infra. pp. 455-7.
118. Cf., B, pp.211-30.
119. Cf., the retreat of December 1904 and the evaluation of his life at Beni-Abbès, 1902-4. (01-X, 163, 187, 190, 196f.).

MOVING ON AND JOURNEYING IN (1905-1916)

- 120. IS, p.318.
- 121. B, pp.233f.
- 122. LMB 16.12.1905 (p.146).
- 123. Cf., infra. pp. 401-4.
- 124. Cf., p.51 supra.
- 125. Cf., p.34 supra.

3 - RESPONSE TO THE CALL : PRELUDE TO AN ANALYSIS

- 126. LHC 14.8.1901 (pp.97f); cf., LPE 4.11.1889 (LFT, p. 18).
- 127. Ibid.
- 128. F.F. 218 (01-XI, 16f.).
- 129. LMB 20.9.1888 (p.22).
- 130. Cf., The Rule of St. Benedict, Ch. 53.
- 131. To Duveyrier, 24.4.1890; R. Pottier La Vocation Saharienne du Père de Foucauld (Paris: Plon, 1939), p.68.

CHAPTER FOUR : IN THE STEPS OF THE
MASTER : THE EVOLUTION OF AN UNDERSTANDING

1 - PROLOGUE : FIVE QUESTIONS IN SEARCH OF AN ANSWER

A very clear statement of how De Foucauld intended to regulate his Christian life is given in a comment he made at Nazareth in October 1898 when transferring from the Rule of St. Benedict to his own Rule, that of the Petits Frères du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus:

...I have taken another rule, which is not founded on any other, old or new, but uniquely on you - on You, on your Gospel; on your counsels, your examples; on your obedience, your imitation; on the advice of your representative; Holy Church; on your love, on the example of those who have loved you most, and have been the most approved by You: the holy Virgin, St. Joseph, St. Magdelene, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul.¹

Two claims will readily be noted: firstly, that the Rule was based completely on the Jesus of the gospels and on the example of his contemporaries, thus omitting any contribution from later church tradition, and secondly, that the teaching and example of Jesus were to be followed in obedience, imitation, and love. Likewise, two kinds of questions immediately arise on the question of De Foucauld's understanding of the imitatio Christi, concerning its content and context: The first matter to investigate is how far De Foucauld's claim to be returning to primitive purity was justified. Did he have an overall grasp of the gospels or was his interest selective? How far - since the imitation of Peter and Paul was mentioned - was De Foucauld concerned with New Testament writings outside the gospels? Was his understanding of the imitatio Christi drawn solely from the New Testament, as he claimed, or was it shaped by elements of later interpretation? If so, how adequate was De Foucauld's grasp of Catholic tradition, and how did it affect his interpretation of the biblical material?

The answers to these questions are relevant to inquiries about both the content and the context of De Foucauld's concept of the imitatio Christi; but an additional and significant approach to the 'context' issue (following themes explored in Part One of this study²) is to focus on the relationship that De Foucauld perceived between obedience, imitation, and love. What sort of balance did he strike between the three in theory, and how did it work out in practice?

It will be apparent from what has been said about De Foucauld's concept of the imitatio Christi as imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth, that there must be more to his thinking than the slender basis afforded it in the gospels. In fact, some kind of contribution to De Foucauld's ideas can be traced back to almost every period of Christian reflection on the subject, and to each of the Western writers whose thought was sketched in Part One, with the interesting and possibly psychologically significant exception of St. Ignatius Loyola and his military metaphors.³ However, most of the references in De Foucauld's writings take the form of passing allusions, or brief quotations from secondary sources. Hence their function was not so much one of introducing De Foucauld to new ideas, as that of confirming him in ones he already possessed, or illuminating a particular theme that he was following.

A significant example of the first taking place is to be found in De Foucauld's assimilation of St. Thomas Aquinas, which was almost totally limited to the latter's definition of love.⁴ For De Foucauld avoided any contact with the scholasticism which Huvelin had so little time for,⁵ and even needed a good deal of persuasion that any kind of theological study was useful or valid for himself,⁶ although he gradually changed his mind,⁷ and in later years acquired Aquinas' writings to help in discussions about natural theology with the Touareg.⁸

De Foucauld's singlemindedness in the pursuit of an idea is demonstrated in the extracts he made from two biographies by a cousin, one of St. Catherine of Siena,⁹ the other of the blessed Jehanne.¹⁰ Out of a total of 810 pages of scholarly historical study De Foucauld took only three footnotes (citing writings by other people), and three quotations from the main text,¹¹ a matter of three pages of print at the most. In addition to this selectivity, five of the six extracts were on one theme: Christ's Passion and the related suffering or desire for martyrdom of the Christian: a significant reminder that an imitatio crucis motif constantly overlapped with De Foucauld's elaborated concept of the imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth. However, De Foucauld's ideas were not simply a result of the interaction of two approaches to the imitatio Christi, many more were involved and came to him in three different ways.

For the interpretation in terms of martyrdom went back to De Foucauld's earliest reading following his conversion, reading which also introduced him to the monastic understanding.¹² Likewise, the nineteenth century piety which transmitted to him the seventeenth century concept of Nazareth,¹³ also provided two other elements of his spirituality: adoration of Christ in the eucharist¹⁴ and devotion to the sacred heart of Jesus.¹⁵ Thirdly, and most significantly, these ideas which came to De Foucauld through his own reading and the devotional climate of the time were enlarged through the influence and specific guidance of Huvelin towards the more catholic theological outlooks of four individuals: St. Francis of Assisi,¹⁶ St. Teresa of Avila,¹⁷ St. John of the Cross,¹⁸ and St. John Chrysostom.¹⁹ The general intention of which guidance, it may be supposed, was to encourage De Foucauld to move on from the ascetical interpretation of the imitatio Christi to which he was temperamentally inclined, to a mystical understanding which put love and grace at the centre, a journey which Huvelin himself had already made,²⁰

and doubtless wished De Foucauld to follow him in. In this Huvelin was not to be disappointed, eventually. But the interim period must have required much patience with De Foucauld's slow and hesitant progress and ^{much} faith that his usually literal approach to St. Teresa of Avila would be transformed. For, as will be seen later, De Foucauld may be said to have known her almost as a living contemporary through his constant reading of her works and letters, and followed her so closely in every kind of matter, that it is a fair question to ask if his intended imitation of Christ was not really an imitation of Teresa. This specific point will be dealt with in its place, but the more general issue of De Foucauld's understanding of the relationship between imitation of Christ and imitation of the saints (or between Bible and Tradition), may be explored at this stage.

Although De Foucauld looked to the saints for encouragement and guidance from the beginning of his Christian life, he does not appear to have thought about the way or degree to which he should try to imitate them until he settled at Nazareth. Perhaps he felt that they were exemplary imitators of Christ by definition, and that nothing else needed to be said. If he did make this assumption, one might suggest that his experience as a Trappist taught De Foucauld that aspiration to holiness is not the same thing as the attainment of it, and that being holy is not the same thing as being true to a particular vocation. Certainly, whatever may be the reasons behind it, the Holy Land years indicate a much closer concern for a valid following of the example of the saints.

Two stages may be observed in the development of De Foucauld's thinking. In the first, he decided that the saints should be looked up to and imitated to the extent that they were faithful imitators of Christ. This meant that a critical attitude should be adopted both in the choosing of a theologian to study, and in the derivation of guidance from his life

and teaching. For De Foucauld believed that he should not be deflected from his ultimate aim to be Christ-like by the influence of any model, whether that influence be good, bad, or indifferent, as the following quotations show:

Since the whole of perfection consists of loving and imitating our Lord, take, from among the saints who have written, the saint for which we have the most sympathy, the one of them which seems to have most loved and best imitated Jesus; make him our intimate friend, put ourselves under his direction, become impregnated with his thoughts, so as to think by degrees like him, to take on his way of judging, of understanding, his mind...²¹

De Foucauld then went on to say that this study was second in importance to meditation on the scriptures, and superior to the reading of the lives of saints which was more like a relaxation,²² concluding with a warning that: 'It is almost as important not to read mediocre authors as to read excellent ones; one becomes like those with whom one lives'.²¹ Yet, as he imagined Jesus telling him a few months later, even the excellent ones could be a source of error if they were followed inappropriately:

Do everything you think I would do. Don't do anything you think I wouldn't. There is your rule. Follow neither St. Benedict, nor St. Francis, nor St. Labre, nor St. Alexis in the detail of their lives, in their personal practices of their rules: follow them in their general spirit, which was my spirit of love for God and neighbour, of poverty, penance, prayer, work,... follow me alone... See how they followed me and take from each of them what you think comes from me...²³

When De Foucauld made the above observation he had just begun reading the breviary again (on the advice of Huvelin), and consequently embarked on daily meditations²⁴ based on the liturgical calendar. However, the various saints commemorated there quickly appear to have inspired De Foucauld less and less, while his interest in the Mysteries of the life of Jesus grew.²⁵ As if in recognition of this fact these meditations were only pursued for a year.²⁶ Indeed, they finished two days after De Foucauld recorded his opinion that his Rule was solely based on Christ and His immediate imitators. Why

were the saints discounted? De Foucauld gave two reasons, one halfway through these meditations, the other as they were coming to an end.

Both reasons belonging to the second stage of his understanding of the difference between taking a saint as a model to lead one to Christ and attempting to imitate Him directly. For it was not now a matter of recognising different approximations to Christ, but of realising that no man, however holy, was an adequate substitute either in the realm of doctrine or ethics.

As far as doctrine was concerned, De Foucauld prefaced a new series of biblical meditations²⁷ which he began on 23 May 1898 with a clear distinction between knowledge of God obtained through reading the Bible, and that acquired from elsewhere: the argument being that perfect following of Christ required perfect knowledge of Him, therefore the writings of fallible theologians must take second place to scripture, which is of a different order. For the search for knowledge of God according to De Foucauld's previous method of reading the Bible and the saints together had brought problems:

...I, absolutely poor workman, absolutely poor servant that I am, have wished to read some books: I have read very few of them, as is befitting to a poor man, and I have only read the best, those of the great doctors who were great saints at the same time. What did I find? That these holy souls although expressing, expounding Christian doctrine, the counsels of perfection with an unanimity, an admirable harmony, would vary however not only among themselves but each with himself: the books written at the end of their course presenting ideas differing at more than one point from those they had had some years earlier: That is as it should be and shows their humility and veracity: it could not be otherwise. God showing them new lights, their first understandings were completed and in being completed modified: 'Man only has what comes to him from heaven' says St. John, thus he says sometimes one thing, sometimes another, according to what is shown him: and what he says is always incomplete, as one sees, for here below 'we see only in part and know only in part'. Seeing his hesitations (etc) I have determined, while continuing to read them in order to profit from the lights which God has given them not only for themselves, but for poor people like me, to turn myself more than in the past towards he who does not change, who sees everything, who does not

receive the light from another but who is himself 'the light which lightens every man' and the 'Father of lights', towards God and the books which His Spirit himself has inspired, ... this is why I undertake meanly and humbly this reading of the Bible, in the desire to read it from one end to the other, solely with God in view, to better know Him, love Him, and serve Him.²⁸

Knowledge of God also had, as De Foucauld noted later, a bearing on imitation and obedience as well as on love and service. For better knowledge of Jesus would lead to better imitation, and better knowledge of his will to better obedience.²⁹ Hence, with knowledge and behaviour linked in this way, it is no surprise to find that De Foucauld's final thoughts about the validity of the imitation of the saints moved from a consideration of doctrine to concern for ethics. Thus, informed by his reading of the Old Testament's unvarnished portrayal of the faults of the patriarchs,³⁰ De Foucauld endorsed a warning of St. John of the Cross that complete imitation of any creature was a mistaken endeavour that would lead one to copy their imperfections. Jesus alone warranted imitation³¹ in every respect.³² People will be judged according to their fidelity to the examples and the teaching of Jesus 'our only Master', not to those of any book, spiritual master, doctor or saint.

At a first glance it might seem that 1897-1898 saw a significant change of focus for De Foucauld, from concern for learning from 'our intimate friend', to a more direct approach to 'our only Master'. Yet however sharp a contrast may be drawn at this point in his thinking between tradition and scripture, there are both theoretical and practical reasons for not making the distinction too marked. In the first place, the 1898 statement must be seen in the context of at least ten years exposure to all the traditional interpretations of the imitatio Christi mentioned above.³³ One would not expect their influence to be instantaneously terminated, even if a conscious decision was made that they should be discarded. But De Foucauld's greater

concern for scripture did not involve the rejection of any elements of the tradition. Consequently, in the second place, not only did all the traditional elements of the imitatio Christi continue to crop up in his thought, but two of them in particular exerted a controlling influence.

On one hand, St. Teresa of Avila, who alone among all the other saints merited De Foucauld's description, 'most intimate friend', was his supreme guide in practical and spiritual matters. For not only did he assimilate much from her own life and work, and was influenced by her constant reference to scripture, but he was also indebted to her for his introduction to St. John of the Cross³⁴ and to St. Augustine.³⁵ St. John of the Cross was second only in importance to Teresa, and complemented her influence by extending De Foucauld's understanding of the imitatio Christi in the context of mystical theology. St. Augustine's contribution was more fragmentary and varied,³⁶ but of great significance in one particular respect. For De Foucauld credited him (along with the two other saints) with teaching two important lessons about the spiritual nature of the imitatio Christi.

The first was that God was to be sought within the believer,³⁷ instead of just in the places in the Holy Land which had been sanctified by Jesus' earthly life, as De Foucauld had thought up until then.³⁸ The second was similar. In consequence of Galatians 2.20 being true, and in the light of Augustine's famous dictum: 'Love and do as you like', De Foucauld felt that he need not be so concerned as previously about the outward details of his own life. He should devote all his energies to

...love as much as possible in the interior of my soul the God who lives there and not regulate in this or that way these outward things and perpetually change them: if they are arranged in such a way as to promote the love of God, that will be adequate, change nothing there,...³⁹

Yet having said that he should not worry about matters of detail, De Foucauld went on to reaffirm his belief that the main thrust of his way of life, imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth, was correct. Although it was just conceivable that God might lead him into something else one day, that possibility was so unwelcome and remote that De Foucauld was not even to think about it.⁴⁰ Hence this avowal of August 1898 is a reminder that the October description of the Rule⁴¹ qualified the basic concept of imitatio Christi by the example of a group of New Testament saints ('...the holy Virgin, St. Joseph, St. Magdelene, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul'), thus bringing into focus the second of the controlling influences upon De Foucauld's thought, for four of the six people noted also figure in the traditional doctrine of 'Nazareth'.

A rough and ready deduction from this that two thirds of his thinking was still governed by traditional rather than biblical understandings of the imitatio Christi at this point would not be erroneous. Yet there is an equal amount of truth in the complementary conclusion that the other third of his thinking did venture on new paths. For whilst 1897-1899 saw the precise definition of De Foucauld's concept of Nazareth, it also saw the beginnings of a simplification. It was only a beginning, as the remainder of this study will show. For the moment, however, his spiritual pilgrimage may be considered in terms of the aspects just mentioned.

The next section, outlining De Foucauld's debt to St. Teresa of Avila, shows, among other things, that his initial appreciation was biased towards the ascetical elements of her theology, although the mystical was not neglected. The same observation may be made of De Foucauld's understanding of St. John of the Cross, but since his writings were primarily mystical they became the basis of De Foucauld's most abstract meditations

on the context of the imitatio Christi. Discussion of these considerations of the relationship between obedience, love, knowledge, contemplation, and imitation are thus the subject of the following section. But as this kind of thinking was very uncharacteristic of De Foucauld, it has to be seen in the light of the concrete images he employed. These are approached in two ways. The fourth section of this chapter considers De Foucauld's picture of Jesus, with especial reference to the New Testament figures judged worthy imitators, whilst the fifth and final part attempts to characterise the development of De Foucauld's all-encompassing concept of Nazareth as far as the end of his stay in the Holy Land.

2 - ST. TERESA OF AVILA :
FRIEND AND GUIDE ALONG THE WAY

CONSTANT COMPANION

A head of ice and a heart of fire with that indomitable strength of character which alone makes it possible to undertake and perform everything for and with God.⁴²

Words which could easily be applied to De Foucauld himself, but which are in fact a characterisation of Saint Teresa of Avila that he had heard in one of Huvelin's sermons nine years previously and never forgotten.⁴³ Qualities he also saw in his cousin, Mme De Bondy, and was now excited about seeing in Mother Elisabeth du Calvaire, the abbess of the Poor Clares of Jerusalem. No wonder he called each of them 'mother', as he called Huvelin 'father'. This was not just a case of conventional address, as De Foucauld specifically called Mother St-Michel, the abbess at Nazareth, 'sister' in contrast.⁴⁴ He frequently saw Huvelin and Mme de Bondy as substitute parents,⁴⁵ while to call Teresa 'mother' of the Trappists is distinctly unhistorical.⁴⁶

Each of these women had a decisive role to play in his life.⁴⁷ Mme de Bondy brought him back to faith and introduced him to the devotion to the Sacred Heart.⁴⁸ He also maintained a life-long weekly correspondence with her, of which over 730 letters survive. The abbess of Jerusalem convinced him, after everyone else had failed, that the belief he held that humility prevented him from becoming a priest was mistaken,⁴⁹ while Teresa guided almost everything he did and thought from 1888 onwards. Indeed, it is not too much to ask if his life was often an imitation of Teresa rather than an imitation of Christ, although De Foucauld himself would see no problem in this as the one should be the means to the other.⁵⁰

The extent of De Foucauld's spiritual and temperamental identification with Teresa has been well outlined by Six.⁵¹ He also notes De Foucauld's identification with other people mentioned by the saint, particularly Peter of Alcantara, Father Mariano and the hermits of Tardon. To Peter of Alcantara he owed the ideas of reform and of following Christ in poverty.⁵² To the hermits of Tardon the principles of manual work, no saying of the Office and no reception of alms.⁵³ Father Mariano and De Foucauld were at one over valuing manual work and not wishing to be ordained, but entering the order as the least among all the friars.⁵⁴ To these people, who influenced his ideas about the ideal community to be sought for, should be added one individual who embodied the ideal religious, sister Beatriz Onez. De Foucauld recommended her as a 'sister, mirror, protectress and comforter'; an example of holy living and holy dying who received 'every test as a tender proof of love from the hand of our brother Jesus'.^{54a} It was profitable to meditate on her life when examining one's conscience or when feeling spiritually depressed, especially in sorrowing for the death of a friend.⁵⁵

However, it is with Teresa herself that De Foucauld was chiefly concerned, as can be seen from the evidence scattered throughout his letters and writings and from a close examination of the extracts he made from the saint's works and letters.

De Foucauld was offered Teresa's works by Mme Flavigny, Mme De Bondy's sister, in 1888; except for the Foundations which he bought himself in September, 1889.⁵⁶ From then onwards he read and re-read them and never tired of recommending them to others, right up to a few months before his death, although there are at least two periods when his reading was curtailed due to changes in residence.

The first lasted almost two years, from June 1890 to early 1892. For nine months after De Foucauld's arrival at Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur at Akbès a postscript to a letter to Dom Martin, abbot of the mother house of Notre-Dame des Neiges back in France, revealed that the Syrian monastery's library was rather deficient. There was no copy of the complete works of Teresa, only some inferior and partial editions. Could some benefactor be approached to rectify the situation by supplying a copy of Bouix's translation?⁵⁷

Mme De Bondy filled the role, but the books purchased in October had to be sent for rebinding before going to Dom Martin in November and were not dispatched to Akbès until early February.⁵⁸ When they reached their destination is not known, although De Foucauld would appear to have been well into them by the time he next wrote to Father Eugène at the beginning of June.⁵⁹

The other hiatus occurred in the eighteen months between De Foucauld's leaving of Beni-Abbès for the tour of the Hoggar which resulted in his establishment of a hermitage at Tamanrasset and his return, (3 May 1905 - 3 November 1906). For, in a letter to Huvelin from the desert in April,⁶⁰ he regretted that the only books he had with him were a Bible, a breviary and a copy of the De Imitatione. This was the 'library' that he recommended for travelling missionaries,⁶¹ but De Foucauld felt that for his own good and for the good of others he should be reading more: St. Teresa, St. John Chrysostom, lives of the saints, some dogmatic theology, even a little Aquinas (perhaps).⁶²

But apart from these interruptions, the first of which was only partial, Teresa was read continually and absorbed into his thinking. The time spent varied. Before entering Notre-Dame des Neiges, De Foucauld was a free agent, as he was to be at Nazareth (1897-1900). While a Trappist

in France he enjoyed reading Teresa for half an hour a day.⁶³ At Akbès it was not so easy as the monks often had to abandon their studies in order to work on the monastery estate. In general it would seem that the time available for reading was less, but that De Foucauld could, at least sometimes, read from Teresa every day.⁶⁴ Opportunities in the Sahara varied, depending on how much time was taken up by hospitality to visitors, or, later on by his scientific and lexicographical work, while travel made reading more difficult, if not impossible on occasions.⁶⁵

The overall significance of Teresa in his reading also shifted. She remained of fundamental importance throughout, but De Foucauld gradually widened his reading, as can be seen from comparing statements made in 1898 and 1902 with a resolution of 1909. The March 1898 statement was not literally true as he had been required to read other authors, but it shows where his preference lay.

I have completed Teresa... for ten years I have, so to speak, only read two books, St. Teresa and St. John Chrysostom. The second is far from being completed, it is hardly begun, but the first has been read and re-read ten times.⁶⁶

It would seem that Teresa was then set aside for a time in order to do more justice to Chrysostom and to take up John of the Cross. Certainly, in March 1900 Teresa was not mentioned, while the other two authors were.⁶⁷

Preparation for ordination involved wider reading,⁶⁸ but when settled at Beni-Abbès De Foucauld returned to these three in following his Rule.⁶⁹ He reported in September 1902 that he read a few pages every day from each of them in turn, along with a chapter from the Old Testament, the New Testament and the De Imitatione. This was his hour of spiritual reading, there was also half-an-hour of dogmatic or moral theology. By 1909 the latter had been increased to an hour, while in the former Teresa now figured as just one of the eight writings to be read each day. Two

pages of Teresa to be matched by two of John of the Cross, the Rule of the Petits Frères, the Rule of the Petites Soeurs, respectively, and one chapter of the gospel, the De Imitatione (or Scupoli's Spiritual Combat), St. Thomas, likewise, concluding with one élévation of Bossuet.⁷⁰

What then did De Foucauld gain from his reading? The question may be answered in many ways, but at this point it is sufficient to see that in Teresa he found a guide to help him develop his basic religious orientation, to show him how to meet major problems as an individual and as a prospective founder and superior. All the time it was a matter of following in her footsteps, a procedure which had limitations as well as advantages.

At the very beginning there is a Teresian ring about one of the reasons De Foucauld gives for entering the religious life: 'to accompany our Lord as much as possible in his griefs'.⁷¹ This was in September 1888, after he had completed his series of four retreats and felt confirmed in his vocation. The reason was repeated in the letters he wrote to his cousin immediately after entering Notre-Dame des Neiges in January 1890, using Teresa's words from Interior Castle 7.4

The most signal favour that God can do us in this world is to make our life like that which his Son led on earth. Thus I hold for certain that God, in giving these graces, proposes to strengthen our weaknesses so as to make us able to endure great sufferings, following his example. For we always see that those who have approached nearest to God have been those who have suffered the most.⁷²

This passage was also noted and underlined in De Foucauld's collection of extracts from Teresa's works, in which sharing the suffering of Christ is a prominent theme, as will be indicated.

For De Foucauld part of this suffering was separation from his relatives, something he always felt keenly and which was only partly and very gradually alleviated by learning from Teresa that one did not have to

be detached from those one loved. He recorded her teaching in December 1890, but it took more than fifteen years for the point to be properly appreciated.

1891 found De Foucauld reading the Maxims of Teresa,⁷³ as well as certain passages and letters suggested by Dom Martin, which it would seem he had some difficulty in locating owing to the lack of Bouix's translation. He was, however, grateful for the recommendations and asked the abbot to pray to Teresa that he might become a friend of the saint, catching her spirit of pure love for God and man. 'I believe with all my heart that in following it I will follow our saviour and walk completely in the light',⁷⁴ a belief that he reiterated the following year in asking for prayer that he should not only copy her in external matters, but 'enter a little into her spirit, into the spirit of our Lord Jesus'.⁷⁵ The spirit of charity, love for God and man, was still the theme in 1897⁷⁶ and at the end of his life in 1916, but what did it involve?

There are some twenty explicit references to Teresa in De Foucauld's meditations in the period 1896-98. They begin at some time in December 1896 with mention of Peter of Alcantara's encouragement to Teresa to follow her vision of the crucified Jesus in founding her convent in real poverty and refusing endowments for it.⁷⁷

A set of meditations begun in June 1897 has four references to Teresa, all of which, except an exhortation on the priority of charity over personal interests⁷⁸, were repeated in the section on prayer in a similar compilation⁷⁹ which probably dates from the following year, whilst in between these came the Retreat at Nazareth (5-11 November 1897), in which Teresa's help was invoked⁸⁰ and her teaching remembered on three matters:

(1) The need to see beyond creation and creatures to the Creator. For every good thing in man comes from God, and man was made to contemplate the perfect Being. No other activity will do.⁸¹ (2) The necessity for having an experienced and discreet spiritual director to guide one's prayer life.⁸² (3) The poverty of the Jesus who often slept in the open air for lack of a roof to shelter under.⁸³

The 1898 meditations provided five references in the section on prayer and three in the second part on faith.

Prayer was defined as loving much rather than speaking much,⁸⁴ and this love included identifying with Jesus' feelings. So people like Teresa who could be said to have his spirit showed this in suffering inwardly whenever the least sin was talked about.⁸⁵

One should only ask for spiritual goods in prayer, for Jesus will give the temporal ones (insofar as they are helpful to spiritual growth) if we get our priorities right: 'Seek first the kingdom of God...' 'As Teresa explains', noted De Foucauld, this is a contract which God makes with us, so there is nothing to worry about. All that is necessary is faith in his promise.⁸⁶ Jesus' word and love are also guaranteed by all that he went through to redeem man, as Teresa learned in a vision of his nail-pierced hand accompanied by the gentle reproach 'After having suffered this for you, do you believe that I shall refuse to give you the little you ask?'⁸⁷

De Foucauld also noted that the main occupation of Teresa's nuns was to pray for those in the front line of the spiritual battle: evangelists, teachers and spiritual directors.⁸⁸

Confidence and intimacy in prayer comes from faith, which also inspires all the believer's actions and gives him God's perspective on life. So, as Teresa was told in another vision, the Christian should realise that everything which is not pleasing to God is a lie.⁸⁹

Faith also demands, as De Foucauld never tired of repeating, that one should believe the text 'He that hears you, hears me' and accept the voice of one's spiritual director as the voice of God. For this is also the teaching of the church and the witness of the saints, including Teresa.⁹⁰

Finally, there is need for faith that everything is possible with God. As Teresa spelt out in a very practical and memorable way, which De Foucauld, with his concern for literal poverty, no doubt applied to himself specifically as well as an illustration of a general truth:- 'Teresa and three ducats are nothing; but Teresa, three ducats and God are everything'.⁹¹

De Foucauld's letters included quotations from the saint on a similar but not identical range of subjects. The need for poverty and for trust in God, for separation to God, for solitude, mortification, and suffering.⁹² But most stress was put on her teaching on his prime problem, that of religious obedience. The subject was raised throughout his letters and her teaching quoted in 1891, 1896, 1897 and 1898.⁹³ Two other references related to the imitation of Christ.

The first was the unmistakable Teresian inspiration of the notable letter to Mme de Bondy (4.10.1893) which first expressed his thoughts of a religious community organised quite differently from the Trappist pattern. Large communities require plant which almost inevitably assumes a material importance which is opposed to the spirit of poverty, abjection and humility necessary to follow the life of Christ 'as exactly as possible'. For that one needs 'small groups, little dovecotes like carmels'.⁹⁴ The idea stayed with De Foucauld and reappeared in his projects throughout the rest of his life.⁹⁵

The second was a saying of Jesus to Teresa which De Foucauld took special note of as an encouragement when agonising over the outcome of plans for the future. 'Either God will be glorified in all this or you will be held in contempt, in both cases you gain by it'.⁹⁶ In 1900 it was his hope to be ordained by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and to live in the Holy Land as a Hermit of the Sacred Heart and chaplain or curator of the Mount of Beatitudes. Things turned out differently, but the quotation that he had been moved to ponder once again,⁹⁷ was transferred to a notebook.⁹⁸ Eight years later it served to strengthen his will when considering, while quite ill, the enormity of the problem of evangelistic work in the Sahara.

In this case the idea of identification with Christ was brought out clearly as De Foucauld considered that lack of success, far from being something to be concerned about, was almost to be welcomed. It made one more like Jesus, who was 'so little listened to, so little followed, so despised, so disdained, so mocked during his life'.⁹⁹

Following Jesus, in the sense of following his life through the liturgical year, was the theme of two of De Foucauld's writings. These were the Essai pour tenir compagnie à Notre-Seigneur Jésus of 1897-1900¹⁰⁰ and the daily meditations of 1905¹⁰¹ which were based on it. The latter shows a recognition of Teresa's influence in the quotation from chapter 12 of her Life which heads it.

The soul can picture itself in Jesus' presence, kindling little by little with a tender love for his sacred Humanity, to have him always with it, to speak to him, to make requests of him in its needs, complain to him in its trials and rejoice with him in its joys....To enjoy the company of the divine master is to have already made great progress....This practice of always having Jesus present in one's thoughts is useful in all states of prayer: it is a sure way of profiting in the first, of quickly arriving in the second, and of preparing oneself against the illusions of the devil in the last'.¹⁰²

1905 also saw the use of a poem of Teresa's at the front of his diary, a practice repeated in 1913.¹⁰³ The poem is the well-known affirmation of trust in God that was found in the saint's breviary after her death.

Let nothing disturb thee;
 Let nothing dismay thee:
 All things pass;
 God never changes.
 Patience attains
 All that it strives for.
 He who has God
 Finds he lacks nothing:
 God alone suffices.¹⁰⁴

In a way, De Foucauld's whole spiritual journey, its aim and justification, could be summed up in the words from 1888 and 1913 that begin and end this section. 'To accompany our Lord as much as possible in his griefs....He who has God finds he lacks nothing'. If he wanted to add anything to this summary to show his predominant mood, it would probably be an expression of gratitude, perhaps from his meditation on the Lord's Prayer (23.1.1897)¹⁰⁵ which was also inspired by Teresa. But, rather than put words into De Foucauld's mouth, this account of her overall significance for him can be concluded with his meditation on her feast day, 15 October 1898.

O dear mother, St. Teresa, how much I need you! How much I need you to fashion my interior life! ...Strengthen and enlighten me, I am asking only one thing of you, and you know what it is. I want only one thing: to give glory to our Lord Jesus as far as I am able, and in order to do so, to love him as much as I can. That is what I am asking of you dearest mother; give me both it and every thing necessary to it. No, I am not asking for consolation, or anything except this one thing: that I may glorify our Lord as much as is possible to me, and that to do so, I may do his will. Loving him as much as is possible, loving him as much as I can--both come down to doing his will always (for he does not refuse to make it known to those who love him as much as they can, and seek ardently--as is proper to such love--to learn the will of the Beloved, so as to be able to do it).

Dear mother, help me, come help me! You who loved so much to imitate your Spouse, imitate him now when he said: 'Him that cometh to me I will not cast out' ... I think you have heard me and will help me--you already brought me one great grace in the past year, for which I thank you with all my heart.

I think it is to you too that I should attribute the benefit of having read this year the books of your son, St. John of the Cross. Thank you a thousand times for that, too, beloved mother. It is you who by the will of God inspire me to turn to you today and lay before you the poor garden of my soul, which is in such a lamentable condition. I think you are already replying very quietly in a phrase which I must make the key to everything, the rule by which I cultivate the garden of my soul, with Jesus' help and yours: the phrase "the most perfect", and that always in perfect obedience to my spiritual director: "He that heareth you, heareth me". I must be most perfect in all the day's tasks, doing them most perfectly. I must be most perfect in doing everything "as the Lord Jesus would have done it in my place".¹⁰⁶

On one hand, the saint's importance as a 'mother', guide and helper will be noticed, on the other, the basic principles that De Foucauld had learned from her, overriding concern to glorify and love God, through perfection (achieved through grace) in obedience to one's spiritual director, in the performance of every action, and in the imitation of Christ.

These themes will be recognised again in the systematic extracts that De Foucauld made from her works and letters which are analysed in the following two sections.

...THEOLOGICAL MENTOR...

De Foucauld made two sets of extracts from Bouix's three-volume edition of the complete works of the saint. One of them¹⁰⁷ was from a complete reading and runs to 414 pages of his minuscule handwriting. This was followed by 64 pages of extracts from the three-volume edition of her letters, which are analysed in the next section. The second set¹⁰⁸ was

much shorter, 64 pages that concluded with chapter 13 of the Way of Perfection. It would seem that the second group of extracts was based on the first one, apart from one work which is not found there: the Exclamations of the soul to God.

Both sets have marginal markings and underlinings in pencil that were made at some re-reading. There is, therefore, a total of four sets of readings to consider for an assessment of Teresa's importance to De Foucauld.

No dates can be assigned to the extracts or the re-readings with any degree of certainty, although it would seem that the extracts should lie between early 1892 and early 1898. If De Foucauld's statement in March of that year, 'I have finished Teresa', is to be understood as referring to the extracts from the letters (and there is some ground for believing this),¹⁰⁹ then the date at which he finished making extracts from the works must be pushed back a year or so.

Yet this is not much help in establishing a date for a re-reading or the making of a second set of extracts, as the two activities could have been pursued simultaneously. As De Foucauld distinguished between the time he spent each day making extracts from authors and the time he spent reading for spiritual profit,¹¹⁰ the re-reading of the extracts from the works may have taken place during the period that he was making extracts from the letters or repeating his selections from the works.

Thus there is little that can be said with precision to add to De Foucauld's statement that he had read and re-read Teresa ten times in ten years, although the four sets of readings will be separated as far as possible in analysis in the hope that evidence will be found one day to clear up the problem, as there are significant differences between them. For examination of De Foucauld's extracts from each individual work shows

that he was selective in his interests, and that however much the shorter set of extracts were indebted to the longer set, the underlined passages in each demonstrate different approaches in the re-readings. Not only does the shorter set contain more underlined quotations, but, as further analysis shows, it covers a larger range of subjects arranged in a different order of importance.

Details of these variations and discussions of their meaning will be found in an appendix.¹¹¹ All that needs to be noted here are two findings. The first is that although De Foucauld referred to as many as 45 topics in all, 117 (44.1%) of these underlined quotations concern just seven of them : Doing the will of God 29 (10.9%), Trials and sufferings 23 (8.6%), Imitating and following Christ 15 (5.8%), Perfection 13 (4.9%), Prayer 13 (4.9%), Humility 12 (4.5%), and Love 12 (4.5%).

The second is that whilst the specific topic 'Imitation of Christ' only became important in the second re-reading, the closely related subjects 'Doing the will of God' and 'Trials and sufferings' have an unvarying priority above all others. This is not just a reflection of the shape of the material which De Foucauld had to make extracts from, for analysis of his selections from the very different and much more mundane matter which goes to make up Teresa's Letters shows a similar (although not identical) hierarchy of interests.

THE LETTERS OF ST. TERESA

De Foucauld made extracts from a quarter of the letters given in Bouix's three-volume edition,¹¹² and also a separate summary of the appendix to the second volume.¹¹³ The evidence is not conclusive, but it would seem reasonable to suppose that the systematic extracts were finished early in 1898,¹¹⁴ with the pencilled marginal marks and underlinings added

at some later re-reading.

The extracts vary in length from a couple of lines to several pages, from substantially complete letters to a mere four lines taken from a seven-page screed. Sometimes the extract is a summary of the matter at issue, sometimes a self-contained maxim.

It can hardly be accidental that De Foucauld quoted from all six of the 'spiritual relations' interspersed in the body of the letters. For it follows naturally from his wish not only to follow Teresa in outward things, but to 'enter a little into her spirit, into the spirit of our Lord Jesus'. The sixth and last of these 'relations' was noted with especial attention, and passages from it were marked in a subsequent re-reading. A quarter of De Foucauld's extracts from Teresa's letters were similarly marked, thus providing an indication of his more particular interests. The pattern of interests revealed is not quite identical with that shown by the complete set of extracts, as if De Foucauld had worked through certain problems between the two readings. For although he retained his concern for 'Making and administering foundations', for 'Trials and sufferings' as an inescapable part of the imitatio Christi, for 'Prayer', and for 'Doing the will of God', other matters had become of less or no interest, notably 'Obedience' in the former case, 'Keeping the Rule' and 'Money matters' in the latter.¹¹⁵

But, with the above caveat in mind, the underlined and marginally marked extracts are a microcosm of the whole, and also an illuminating illustration of the way De Foucauld approached Teresa as if she was writing directly to him with advice, as can be seen in the following summary, which goes through the marked passages in the order that De Foucauld would have read them.

In the first of these, he reminded himself that 'God rewards good works by disposing us to do better ones' (L16), and of the need to be primarily concerned with people's spiritual needs (L22). A foundation whose rule forbids begging must be restricted to a maximum of thirteen members (*ibid*), and it must never go to law (L93).

Teresa's rejection of the idea that spiritual directors could understand women, who, by nature, could not even understand themselves (L105); may have been noted for two reasons. Perhaps De Foucauld was considering the problems involved in becoming the chaplain of the Poor Clares at Nazareth, which would make sense of his brief quotation from Letter 351 in which Teresa warned Gracian against giving in to nuns who can give a hundred reasons for justifying what they want to do, though the context is different. In that letter the saint was not concerned about government but poverty, she wished the nuns to begin with a small and inexpensive house; a thought dear to De Foucauld's heart. The second and more likely interpretation, as he particularly marked the final sentence of his extract from Letter 105, is that he was concerned with the general principle of the need for complete openness between directed and director, for, '...our confessors can judge us only by what we tell them'.

The next marginal marks are to be found against a sentence in Letter 115 where Teresa advised that she had no option but to reject a certain unsuitable postulant, it was a matter of the honour of God. Again, De Foucauld might have been thinking in particular or general terms, in the former case possibly of his attempts to get brother Pierre to join him (1898)¹¹⁶ or of the need to send away brother Michele (much later on, in 1907).¹¹⁷ In the latter, other occasions when he felt it necessary to dissuade followers who did not share his vocation, particularly in the context of a small community where compatibility is essential.

But Teresa could also be a guide in less weighty matters, such as her advice not to bother about rereading the letters one writes. She didn't. There may be odd letters or words left out, but the general meaning is quite clear (L136). More difficult for De Foucauld to follow, however, was her advice to be patient until God provides opportunities to carry out our good desires, particularly as she was talking about the desire for total poverty. Until that was possible to achieve, indifference and detachment should be the order of the day (L139).

In the next extract that De Foucauld marked as he reread it, it was asserted that prayer is not to be judged by any pleasant feelings that may accompany it, but by the outcome in action. In real prayer the soul strives with the memory and the understanding to know how to please God and show its love for him more and more.(L162). One of the problems is, of course, the one of finding the right balance between love for God and love for one's neighbour, between contemplation and action. So it is not surprising to find that De Foucauld took careful note (underlining twice and heavily marking in the margin) of the way that his guide attempted to maintain a life of prayer while fulfilling her duties as a superior (L189).

Teresa delegated what she could and found the time this freed for prayer to be invaluable. 'The more I withdraw from other things, the more notably do I find myself profiting in my interior life'. But the saint confessed that she was often slow to do this and had to learn all over again what harm over-business did to her. Some tasks, of course, cannot be delegated, but God makes allowances and gives a legitimately busy superior all the necessary graces in shorter than normal period of prayer, as she had proved.

The following letter (L190) also provided long extracts, this time on the value of suffering. De Foucauld underlined twice and put nine

marginal marks against the following statement about the prioress of Seville's heart trouble:

You should be glad that your soul is much more advanced in perfection, believe me, I do not say this to console you, but because I am convinced of it. For, my daughter, the soul never makes such progress without great cost.

Having noted practical points about treating sickness in a community,¹¹⁸ De Foucauld went on to underline Teresa's opinion that 'if there was no suffering through ill health in a house, it would be like heaven on earth and there would be little opportunity for gaining merit'. Although she was sorry about the nun's suffering, Teresa would be much more concerned about spiritual ill-health in the community. As there wasn't any such trouble she wasn't going to worry about bodily ills, to accept these was a necessary part of the Christian life: no cross, no crown.

As you know, to enjoy our divine Crucified one day we must carry the cross (underlined twice and marked ten times in the margin). There is no need to ask God for sufferings, as father Gregory maintains, as he never omits to send them to those he loves and to lead them by the same way as he lead his Son (underlined and marked four times).

This theme reappeared in the next extract (1193), with the additional thought that Teresa envied her correspondent's sufferings, as she no longer deserved to suffer herself. The suffering in question was a dispute about who had spiritual jurisdiction over the discalced Carmelites, Gratian or the Nuncio, who, it was feared, would undo all Teresa's and Gratian's efforts for reform. Gratian had acted with propriety in not making any visitations for nearly a year while his authority was in question and was now further distressed by the circulation of an official Brief in which the Nuncio deprived him of his authority and took it on himself. The nuns pray. Teresa was concerned, but refused to be afraid. 'On the contrary, we must praise God for leading us by the way that he first walked'. (underlined).

It is not surprising that De Foucauld noted this extract, considering his continual concern for the purity of the Rule and his disquiet during 1892-93 that the new constitutions for regularising the different elements of the re-united Trappist order would be a mitigation.¹¹⁹ On one hand he could identify with Gratian's suffering. On the other to see it, as Teresa did, as a sharing in the suffering of Christ, would go some way to enable him to cope with the stress. It might not be resolved, but to give it a name (justified or not) would be a help.

The thought continued in two other extracts. Suffering is central, the cross is the surest route to God. Woe to us and to our reform if we ever stop seeking them (I212). Again, from letter 277, De Foucauld noted Teresa's statement that Christ came into the world for the sole purpose of suffering, and the fact that she derived great consolation from thinking that the more the faithful soul imitates him in this, the greater will be its glory.

But there was also time for other matters, such as the dangers of having a bad superior in a system where blind obedience can see no wrong (I237)¹²⁰ and of taking more nuns than a convent can cope with (I239). In the same letter De Foucauld identified with Teresa's confession that in her loving concern for her friends her letters can become unbearable; later on he sympathised with her objection to having letters addressed to her with fulsome titles (I282).¹²¹

Matters of varying importance, perhaps, but De Foucauld remembered and acted on all of them, though he never worked out the full implications of the first. Teresa's solution to the problem of blind obedience was not to change the system, but to see that only suitable superiors were appointed and that the Visitors did their work well. De Foucauld agreed on the qualities a superior ought to have,¹²² but tended to see him, once elected,

as responsible to no one but God. Independence, in his view, was intended to enable the attainment of the highest perfection, a good foundation should not be forced to conform to the standards of mediocre ones.¹²³

It would seem that De Foucauld did not consider the possibility of a 'good' Chapter revitalising a 'lukewarm' house, or of a superior's sanctity not being on a par with his power or responsibility.

The question of the right number of members for a foundation (in this case twenty, in other places, thirteen) was always a concern for him, although the precise number varied as he appeared to be modelling his ideas on La Trappe, Teresa or Peter Alcantara.

The references to letter-writing and modes of address might appear to be only examples of unconscious, incidental and possibly trivial imitation, but as with his imitation of 'Teresa of Jesus' in adopting the name 'Charles of Jesus', the unconscious act may well be the more significant.¹²⁴

It will be remembered that De Foucauld noted six extracts on the subject of letter-writing. Those which he marked in the margin (L136, 239, 282) have been mentioned already, the others are in letters 54, 85, 171. The latter is almost identical to the plea in Letter 282 not to use titles to address the saint, the others express Teresa's pleasure at receiving letters, and receiving them often, and her relief at the restoration of love and the sharing of confidences after a break in communication.

What break might De Foucauld have been thinking of? There is no certainty, but there are several possibilities. He could have been referring back to the quarantine restrictions of 1890,¹²⁵ to the eight months without letters from Huvelin in 1895,¹²⁶ or to the perennial difficulty of communicating with his director, especially when he was in a hurry to get some course

of action approved. Alternatively, he may have been referring to similar breaks or delays in communication with his relatives, or to a self-imposed discipline which was part of his idea of life in the cloister separated from the world in general and from friends and relations in particular.

That break was not easy, but De Foucauld felt it to be required of him. To the day of his death he carried a notebook¹²⁷ around with him that recorded the time that he left his sister's Paris apartment to enter the monastic life: 7pm on 15 January 1890. Every year on that date he remembered. The concept of enclosure remained with him long after he was dispensed from his vows, true, it eventually became internalised, but as late as 1908¹²⁸ he had the greatest difficulty in accepting the idea that he should visit his relatives on a trip to France.

If this interpretation is correct, it would seem that the 'permission' that Teresa gave in these letters to relax his discipline never became as real for De Foucauld as the conclusion that he drew from her insistence that nuns should keep to their enclosure. In a letter as far back as December 1890 he had told Huvelin that he had learned from Teresa (from the letters or from her life, chapter 40?) that total detachment from loved ones is not required.¹²⁹ But much later on his director felt it necessary to encourage him to write often to his cousin (16.10.1897) and to his Trappist friends (28.5.1898).¹³⁰ It may also be significant that in the 1897 Rule, De Foucauld gave the superior almost unlimited powers of censorship over incoming and outgoing mail,¹³¹ though it may just be a case of unquestioned acceptance of the practice at La Trappe.

As has been mentioned before, De Foucauld made extracts from all the letters which modern editions separate as the six 'spiritual relations' (Bouix Letters 1,2,3,13,17,294). But it is only the last of these that

he copied out completely and marked with double and triple marginal pencil lines throughout. It gives a picture of Teresa's spiritual state in May 1581, eighteen months before her death (as Bouix's heading noted). No doubt De Foucauld saw in this a model to which he should aspire and took careful note.

Teresa was grateful for the deep quiet and calm in her soul, which was deeper than any suffering she experienced. Her one desire was to honour God through doing his will. To this end her desire for penances and mortifications was as strong as ever, but in obedience to her superiors she took more care of her body than she used to, although still worried about the snare of self-love.

Imaginary visions had been replaced by the intellectual vision of the Trinity and Christ's humanity, while guidance from interior voices continued. De Foucauld was not so concerned with this latter fact, nor with her description at the end of the 'relation' of her consciousness of the presence of the indwelling Trinity,¹³² both receiving two marginal marks instead of three, perhaps they were outside his experience? He did, however, underline and heavily mark her next finding.

'My acts and desires seem not to be as strong as they once were, for, great though they are, I have a much stronger desire for the will of God to be done...so these desires and acts have little strength and pass away quickly': even desires for suffering, martyrdom and the vision of God. Teresa was struck by the fact that she didn't feel bad about not being able to desire them, nor (De Foucauld marked this point especially) was she tormented as she used to be by powerful and deeply sorrowful and self-accusatory feelings in seeing souls being lost. Yet she believed that her attachment to the will of God and concern for his honour was as strong as ever.

This being so, she was not concerned about the presence or absence of positive feelings of the presence of God, although she usually had them except when seriously ill.

Never, even for a single moment, does my will swerve from the accomplishment of the will of God in me (four marginal marks). This submission to the divine will has so much strength, that my soul desires neither to live nor to die except at certain moments when the desire to see God awakens in it. (Three marks).

In the next letter that De Foucauld marked, he noted that Teresa was happy that undeserved malicious gossip (about the relation between the nuns and their confessor) was causing suffering in a community, for 'Our Lord always repays services rendered to him by great trials' (which are potentially opportunities for gaining merit, although De Foucauld did not underline the point here, Letter 323).

The same lesson was extracted from Letter 325, this time illustrated by the concrete example of a nun whose active renunciation of all her possessions was 'rewarded' by times of interior trials and dryness. But, claimed Teresa, nothing could be better, since the outcome of these trials is love for God. De Foucauld marked this with three pencil lines and went on to note the saint's explanation and exhortation in military language: only hired soldiers expect to be paid by the day, serve for nothing as great lords serve the king. Think about sharing the carrying of the cross, not about obtaining spiritual consolations.

The other way to look at troubles was to see them as coming from the devil's attempts to stop God's work being done. So the more trouble experienced in setting up a foundation, the more good God intends to do through it and the more important it is to persevere. So, Teresa concluded (and De Foucauld underlined, marked ten times in the margin and quoted in a letter),¹³³ 'Never worry, my dear daughters, to see us suffer, since there are so great treasures for us in suffering'. (1331).

...AND GUIDE TO THE IMITATIO CHRISTI

Now that the breadth of De Foucauld's interest in Teresa of Avila has been outlined, his specific understanding of her approach to the imitation of Christ can be summarised, initially by bringing together the quotations he made on this topic.

Excerpts from Teresa's Life were only underlined in the second, shorter set of extracts, although two of the three from the Additions were underlined in both collections. Thus the first thing that De Foucauld noted was that the Christian life must follow the experience of Jesus, St. Paul, Mary, and all the saints.¹³⁴ In this world it is not a matter of enjoyment, but of working, suffering, and loving. Above all, one should remember that the servant is not greater than his master.¹³⁵

The next thoughts come from chapter seven of the Song of Songs, where De Foucauld underlined passages which teach that charity requires the renunciation of the contemplative life for a union of contemplation, action, and self-forgetfulness in the service of God and the neighbour, perhaps to the length of martyrdom. But the apostolic ministry must be preceded by years of prayer which produce the desire not only to enjoy the pleasures of union with God, but to share his work and suffering also. In Teresa's words

"Give me trials, Lord," she cries; "give me persecutions;" and she really desires them and emerges from them greatly benefited. For, as she no longer considers her own pleasure but only the giving of pleasure to God, she delights in imitating, in some degree, the most toilsome life led by Christ.¹³⁶

As she says, advances in prayer involve advances in charity, but it is also true that the latter depends on the former. Zealous but unprepared beginners in prayer should not rush out to try to help their neighbour. For, as De Foucauld noted with six pencil marks in the margin, it is

dangerous for the soul to attempt this too soon.

It would be interesting to know when he underlined this passage, for he could have seen it as a warning against impatience when filled with the desire to do things for God, or De Foucauld may have used it as an excuse for evading the responsibility for looking outwards from the cloistered and contemplative life he preferred. Probably there were situations when the application of Teresa's teaching was clear, but there is at least one period when his feelings about a problem were ambivalent, and he could have adopted either interpretation as a justification for his decision.

In the early months of 1898 De Foucauld wondered whether the idea of reentering the Trappists was a distracting temptation or a call from God to return and reform the Order from the inside. He felt that he had received so much but had given back nothing in return, this would be a way of working for God and doing so. He enjoyed his 'vocation of St. Joseph': the life of silence, obscurity, humility, and solitude. But was this just a transitory stage that God wanted him to give up, or was his dream of action really a matter of discontent, pride, and disobedience?¹³⁷

There is no doubt what Huvelin thought about all this: 'Stay and wait' was his unvarying advice throughout the next two years.¹³⁸ But it will also be noticed that De Foucauld's attachment to the cloister was more important at this stage than the requirements of charity. They could not be ignored, but he seemed reluctant to recognise their priority except as a matter of religious obedience.¹³⁹

The first re-reading of Teresa's works ended with two extracts from the Interior Castle. The first (5.3) united the themes of the will of God, perfection, union, conformity, and imitation of Christ.

What is the will of our divine master, my daughters?
It is that we become so perfect that we are one with
him and his father, as he prays for us to be... For
this union of conformity, it is not necessary that God
gives us great favours, it is sufficient that he has
given us his son to teach us the way.¹⁴⁰

The second (7.4) focussed on the crucifixion and throws down the
challenge that if God's love is shown in such action and suffering, how can
we be content with mere words? So, if Jesus shares his cross with believ-
ers, it should not be seen as a wrong, but a favour.

From Teresa's Letters De Foucauld went on to recognise the passive
nature of imitation. Although she said that she prayed for trials (and
grace to sustain her in them), and couldn't pray for rest as Jesus never had
any in his lifetime (Letter 1), Teresa recognised, as has already been noted,
that the request was unnecessary. For God sends them to those he loves to
lead them in the same way as he led his son (L190,193). It is a matter of
'Thy will be done', not of picking and choosing the trials that we would
like to have (L227). Christ is the model here, as his one reason for
coming into the world was to suffer, and the more we imitate him in this,
the greater will be our eventual glory (L277). But there is an active
aspect as well, not only in the positive acceptance of suffering, but in
the wide area of loving people in imitation of Jesus' love for us (L312).

When De Foucauld re-read the shorter set of extracts from Teresa's
Life, he marked seven passages which dealt with the imitation of Christ in
terms of suffering, the way of the cross, poverty, and humility.

In Teresa's opinion, God sends trials to believers in order that
they should realise that they can do nothing in their own strength, and also
avoid falling through pride at other times when God grants them spiritual
favours. In this context De Foucauld noted (chapter 11) that everything
which God allows to happen to a soul which is committed to follow him to
Calvary and to help him carry the cross, is good. So he made Teresa's

request his own. 'I desire to suffer, Lord, because Thou didst suffer. Let Thy will be in every way fulfilled in me'.¹⁴¹

From chapter 15 he saw that it was playing the devil's own game to hanker after spiritual joys in prayer. The only way to avoid being distracted by counterfeit experiences was to keep one's ultimate aim always in view. There must be

...the initial determination not to desire these pleasures, but to walk from the first in the way of the Cross. For the Lord Himself showed us the way of perfection when He said: "Take up thy cross and follow Me". He is our Pattern; and those who follow His counsels with the sole aim of pleasing Him have nothing to fear.¹⁴²

Again, chapter 22, which deals with the necessity of approaching the summits of contemplation through the humanity of Christ,¹⁴³ maintains that 'He will show us the way; we must look at His life - that is our best pattern'. De Foucauld did not underline this particular sentence,¹⁴⁴ but continued with the theme of the previous extract from chapter 15 and added the thought that

...the Lord was deprived of all consolation; they left Him alone in His trials. Let us not leave Him.¹⁴⁵

This idea of consoling the Lord in his sufferings was very prevalent in De Foucauld's thought and in nineteenth century spirituality generally. If it is looked at closely it may be seen as a development of popular piety which has a theological basis only in the rather different setting of serving or rejecting Christ in helping or ignoring one's neighbour (Matthew 25:31ff). But its connection with imitation is easy to see and its motivation commands respect. Perhaps it should be called empathy rather than imitation, although the two are inter-related and one can lead to the other.¹⁴⁶ Be that as it may, in both cases De Foucauld's motivation was the same, and well defined in another sentence from this chapter which he underlined.

...whenever we think of Christ, we should remember with what love He has bestowed all these favours upon us, and how great is the love which God has revealed to us in giving us such a pledge of the love which He bears us; for love begets love.¹⁴⁷

This being so,

...if once the Lord grants us the favour of implanting this love in our hearts, everything will be easy for us and we shall get things done in a very short time and with very little labour.¹⁴⁸

So much then for the theory. In actual fact, as Teresa noted in chapter 27, Christians prefer pleasures and pastimes to helping Jesus carry his cross. 'No longer are there any whom men account mad because they see them perform the heroic deeds proper to true lovers of Christ'.¹⁴⁹ Instead, wisdom and discretion are the valued virtues. De Foucauld took up his pencil at this point and underlined Teresa's observation that it would be counted strange, and a scandal to the weak if clergy and religious took to wearing old and patched clothes as a visible sign of the poverty they professed.

In my view, it is this which adds to the troubles of our time, and not the pretended scandals of the religious who proclaim, by their deeds as by their words, the disdain in which the world should be held. The Lord turns these scandals to great advantage; for if some slaves of the world were offended, others would be struck with remorse. And we would have been able to see one of these men of God who showed in himself the life of Christ and his Apostles'.¹⁵⁰

But this is not just an idle wish, for it happened. As Teresa exclaims, and De Foucauld underlined twice.

Ah! what a perfect imitator of Jesus Christ God has just taken from us, in calling to glory that blessed religious, Brother Peter of Alcantara! ¹⁵¹

He is important, not just as a concrete example, but as a proof that, contrary to popular belief, the passage of time is irrelevant.

People say that the world is no longer capable of supporting such perfection; that health is feebler and times are not what they were. But this saint was of this age and his robust enthusiasm the equal of any in the old days.¹⁵²

De Foucauld seems to have concluded that if Peter of Alcantara could close the 1500 year gap between himself and the time of the apostles, the three centuries between the Spaniard and the Frenchman were as nothing. Perfection, poverty and mortification were still required and still possible.

The only barrier to achieving them was lack of humility, as Teresa explained in chapter 31, and a wish to maintain reputation and honour. But it is impossible to do this and be united to God and follow the Christ who suffered such insults and lying testimony at his trial. One can't move in both directions at once, but

The soul that our Lord raises to this divine union is the one which makes generous efforts to resemble him, and who, in many things, is happy to lose its rights, (underlined twice).¹⁵³

This may be true, but it is not easy, especially if other Christians are convinced that one is going about things the wrong way. But there is a solution to the conflict, as De Foucauld noted from Teresa's account in chapter 35. The saint recorded that all the arguments of the learned theologians could not convince her that she should not found her convents in poverty. However persuasive their objections seemed at the time, they were irrelevant to the reality and example of the crucified Christ. De Foucauld agreed with her in this, making the 'I' in the following extract his own.

True, they sometimes convinced me; but when I betook myself to prayer again and looked at Christ hanging poor and naked upon the Cross, I felt I could not bear to be rich. So I besought Him with tears to bring it about that I might become as poor as He. I found that the possession of revenue entailed so many inconveniences, and was such a cause of unrest, and even of distraction, that I kept of disputing about it with learned men.¹⁵⁴

Again, the identification with Christ (but...poor as he) with the wish to become like him is central and was underlined twice. Indeed, there is only one way of living which makes any sense at all, as Teresa concluded at the end of the chapter.

I cannot understand why it is that people are afraid to set out on the way of perfection. May the Lord in his goodness make them know the manifest dangers of this way of the world in which one follows the crowd blindly (underlined once) and on the contrary, of the security of walking with earnestness in the way of the saints. (underlined twice). Our eyes must always be fixed on our divine leader, and we must not be afraid that this Sun of justice will set, nor that he will leave us in the middle of shadows in danger of getting lost. Our adorable Master never abandons those who follow him. (underlined three times).¹⁵⁵

This brings out the faith element, which was so important to De Foucauld generally as an aspect of obedience.¹⁵⁶

The last extract from Teresa's Life (chapter 36) showed how identification with the sufferings of Christ could also be a help when meeting persecution,¹⁵⁷ as she found when facing opposition to the founding of the convent of St. Joseph. De Foucauld underlined two points that the saint made. In the first place, she thought she might be thrown into prison but was happy that this might be an opportunity to 'suffer something for the Lord' as she was unaware of having done anything wrong. Yet at the same time, she didn't want to blow everything out of proportion and make a martyr of herself, for 'I remembered the judgment which our Lord had to submit to, and I realised that what awaited me was nothing by comparison'.¹⁵⁸

Finally, from the Additions, De Foucauld underlined three times the main points of the passages he had already marked at the first re-reading,¹⁵⁹ and added an extract on a problem that has been referred to several times already. It can be called the question of the relationship between contemplation and action, or, more concretely and usefully, perhaps, the

question of the relationship between De Foucauld's idea of what his vocation was and God's will in the matter.

The paragraph is short enough to be quoted in full.

Once, when I was thinking how much purer are the lives of those who have not to engage in business, and how badly I always get on and how many mistakes I make in business matters, I heard these words: "There is no help for that, daughter. Strive thou always to have a right intention and to be detached in everything, and look to Me, so that all thine actions may be in accordance with Mine".¹⁶⁰

As De Foucauld saw it, the solution to the dilemma was to be found in three parts.

- (a) 'Strive thou always to have a right intention' (underlined once).
- (b) 'and to be detached in (or from) everything' (underlined twice)
- (c) 'and look to Me, so that all thine actions may be in accordance with Mine'. (underlined three times).

What the third part actually meant changed with De Foucauld's developing perception of Jesus' life, from focussing on the contemplative aspect of the hidden life at Nazareth to consideration of the other dimensions of salvation shown in the public ministry and Passion. But the general principle is clear. Look at Christ. Don't worry about resolving the ambiguities of your situation or feelings. In following and imitating Jesus everything will fall into perspective, a lesson that De Foucauld apparently applied to himself for the first time in 1898, (Although, as has been noted above, it was credited to St. Augustine).¹⁶¹ What, then, is to be made of De Foucauld's understanding of Teresa's thought on the imitation of Christ? Two conclusions seem clear. Firstly, De Foucauld's interest in the topic was central to his study of Teresa's writings. It is true that there are only 21 explicit quotations on the subject, but, as has just been indicated, they bring in a whole host of related topics. When these are taken together they make up about three-quarters of all

the extracts which De Foucauld underlined from the Works and half of those taken from the Letters. In addition, many of the remainder concern the practical issues involved in setting up and running communities where the imitation of Christ might be pursued.

The second conclusion that may be drawn is that Teresa offered De Foucauld a more central view of the Christ who was to be imitated and also showed that imitation was as much an act of God in the believer as an effort of man. For, according to the saint, the Christian should imitate the Jesus who hung on the Cross: abandoned, poor, suffering, and full of love for God and man. In this there is both gift and call, for such love evokes a response, and also indicates what it should be. For the believer's love is awakened by God's love demonstrated in Christ, and, in as much as he is full of such charity, he will find that God leads him in the way of the Cross.

How far De Foucauld adopted Teresa's perspective is an interesting problem to consider. It is difficult, with his constant concern for
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mortification and penance, to judge how much the idea of conformity to Christ as a work of God in man became real to him, but it is quite easy to see how his concept of 'imitating the hidden life at Nazareth' changed and absorbed elements that properly belong to an overall view of Jesus' life that includes the Passion. Not that De Foucauld would have seen any problem in this, as he understood from Teresa that Jesus' life was not fragmented, but all of a piece. As a passage from Way of Perfection shows, the pain of identification with God and man was always present, and also more important than any concern with his own fate.

What was His whole life but a continual death, with the picture of the torments reserved for him always before his eyes? Yet this was the least of his sorrows. The crucifixion of crucifixions for him was the great number of offences being committed against his father, and the multitude of souls being lost.¹⁶³

De Foucauld underlined this passage in ink, which suggests that its importance struck him as soon as he finished copying it out. The second and third sentences were underscored twice, to emphasise Teresa's point.

Certainly, it is this Christ that De Foucauld always sought to imitate and be conformed to, as will be remembered from the extract from Interior Castle which he quoted to his cousin at the beginning of his monastic career.

The most signal favour that God can do us in this world is to make our life like that which his Son led on earth. Thus I hold for certain that God, in giving these graces, proposes to strengthen our weaknesses so as to make us able to endure great sufferings, following his example. For we always see that those who have approached nearest to God have been those who have suffered the most. ¹⁶⁴

The last three lines of this quotation received a double number of marginal scribings in De Foucauld's set of extracts, but lest it be concluded that he misunderstood Teresa's teaching as solely ascetical theology or one concerned only with one's personal salvation, the following should be considered.

The underlinings and marginal markings against passages from the Fifth and Seventh Mansions of the Interior Castle show that De Foucauld recognised their general mystical character, and also particular points that Teresa was making. Thus (in relation to the quotation given above) De Foucauld noted her statement that sorrows were to be met with in every mansion 'except in the seventh, where they do not enter'.¹⁶⁵ But more significantly, he fastened onto the two central passages on union with God. The first, with its celebrated image of the silkworm cocoon, clearly shows the distinct actions of God and man in the sentences which De Foucauld marked:

It is not in adding to or subtracting from God that it is in our power to build this mansion, but in subtracting and adding something of ourselves like these silkworms.....¹⁶⁶ Let us hasten to spin this mysterious cocoon, in renouncing our self-love, our will, all attachment to earthly things, in doing works of mortification and penance.

The effect of the prayer of union is that the soul does not know itself any more, and

...it neither desires or wills anything except that he (God) should dispose of it as he pleases....Oh infinite goodness of God! It does all for us, and is content that this wax, which is our will, offers no resistance. You see how God acts to make known to the soul that it is his.¹⁶⁷ He gives it something of his own. He puts in it this interior disposition which his divine Son had all his life. He cannot give him a greater grace than this.

De Foucauld also pondered over the second:

God only asks two things of us in these encounters. One to love him, and the other to love our neighbour. Thus it is for these that we should work, in accomplishing them faithfully, we will do his will, and we will be united to him... The most certain sign to know if we are faithfully practising these two things, is, in my view, to have a true and sincere love for our neighbour. For we cannot be certain how far our love for God goes, although there may great indication to judge it, but we see much more clearly in the matter of love of the neighbour....¹⁶⁸ This God of goodness loves us so much, that in rewarding the love that we bear to the neighbour, he is pleasing to increase in a thousand ways the love we have for him...seeing the evil of our nature, we could never love our neighbour perfectly if there was not a great love for God in us.

Ask our Lord to give you this perfect love of your neighbour, and afterwards leave the divine Master to act in your soul.¹⁶⁹

De Foucauld went on to note Teresa's teaching on the place of prayer, effort, and the essential need for progress,¹⁷⁰ for 'in the spiritual life, not to advance is to retreat, as it is impossible for love to always remain in the same state',¹⁷¹ although, here again, ethical concern was balanced by recognition of the source of this love. The soul understands, 'that it is its God who gives it its life'¹⁷² ... God is in it like a spring of living water which waters it...which is the life of its life'.

However, intellectual recognition of the existence of a complementary relationship between the ascetical and the mystical, or between love for God and love for man, is not the same as a practical assimilation of it. De Foucauld was to make distinctions between them for many years to come. In the first case, however much he thought in terms of faith in a loving heavenly Father, De Foucauld had no concept of justification by faith, but maintained a belief in the necessity of penance and mortification, and also constantly prayed for what he called his conversion or second conversion.¹⁷³

The second distinction, that between love for God and love for man, can be traced in many aspects of De Foucauld's thinking. It figured in the working out of the contemplative and active aspects of his vocation, in the matter of enclosure,¹⁷⁴ or the priority that he wished to give to the offering of the mass.¹⁷⁵ It also featured in De Foucauld's perennial desire for martyrdom, of which the mood is well conveyed in the refrain and third and fourth stanzas of one of Teresa's poems:

I live, yet no true life I know,
And, living thus expectantly,
I die because I do not die.

How tedious is this life below,
 This exile, with its griefs and pains,
 This dungeon and these cruel chains
 In which the soul is forced to go!

 How bitter our existence ere
 We come at last the Lord to meet!¹⁷⁶

It should be noted that this poem only occurred in the earlier, longer extracts from her works, and was not underlined when they were re-read. Over the years De Foucauld's motive altered to one which combined identification with Christ in suffering with identification with him in love for all men,¹⁷⁷ finally reaching the stage that Teresa described in the Seventh Mansion of the Interior Castle¹⁷⁸ (which he did not under-

line), and the sixth 'spiritual relation' (which he did),¹⁷⁹ of a total concern for God's will which made any personal wishes, even for martyrdom, irrelevant.

The change in outlook can be seen in a comparison of the 1899-1901 and 1909-13 versions of the final chapter of De Foucauld's *Rule and Directoire*. Entitled Fin de l'exil, the earlier draft of the text repeatedly expressed a hope for imminent martyrdom in imitating Christ's death as much as his life. It also referred to Teresa rejoicing that every time a clock struck it marked one less hour for her to stay on earth separated from Jesus¹⁸⁰ (Life chapter 40, quoted and underlined twice in the shorter set of extracts). The revision¹⁸¹ omitted all this, only retaining the recommendation that one should share the tension felt by St. Paul: 'My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better. But to remain in the flesh is more necessary on your account'. (Phil. 1:23-24).

It is not known whether De Foucauld made these changes on his own initiative, or if he was just following his bishop's advice. But even if his own views had not altered by 1909, they certainly had five years later, as he recognised in a letter of 20 July 1914.

I cannot say I want to die; once I did; but now I see so much good that needs to be done, so many souls without a shepherd, that I want to do a little good and work a little for the salvation of these poor souls: but God loves them more than I do, and he doesn't need me. May his will be done'.¹⁸²

So, as far as De Foucauld's reading of St. Teresa of Avila in the Holy Land years is concerned, it would seem that whilst he recognised the goal that he was aiming for, his current concern was for the earlier stages of the mystical path. The same conclusion follows from a consideration of De Foucauld's interest in St. Francis of Assisi.¹⁸³ For although the

material involved was minute in comparison, a similar pattern of appreciation is revealed. On one hand, De Foucauld summarised his significance thus:

St Francis preaches to us by his example (1) boundless love of God, from which flows: (2) infinite obedience to all the words of our Lord, even to the least (3) passionate conformity to all his examples (4) incomparable love of all men (5) humility, poverty, penance, ¹⁸⁴

whilst on the other, three of the five extracts made from a life of the saint were on one subject (poverty), leaving only two which clearly refer to the later stages of the mystical life (extracts from the Cantic of the Sun, Francis offering himself as a missionary martyr).¹⁸⁵ This impression gained from the quotations made while De Foucauld lived in Nazareth is reinforced by the sole addition made during his ordination training, recording Christ's words:

Francis, if you want to know my will, it is necessary for you to despise and hate everything you have loved on earth, and when you have begun to do it, that which seemed sweet and pleasant will become bitter and insufferable to you, but you will also find great sweetness and attraction in the things which seemed intolerable to you.¹⁸⁶

The other question to be asked about De Foucauld's understanding of Teresa is the one with which this study of their relationship opened. Did it lead him, despite his intentions, to be an imitator of Teresa rather than an imitator of Christ? Or, to put the question another way, granted that De Foucauld was heavily indebted to Teresa, what grounds would there be for saying that he was an imitator of her, as opposed to just being under her influence?

Answers might be sought in terms of consciousness of imitation, degree of dependence or independence (De Foucauld never seems to have disagreed with her), or occurrence of imitation in incidental matters. But the most obvious difference between imitation of Christ and imitation of

Teresa is that it is only with the latter that De Foucauld could have identified in being a religious and seeing himself as a reformer or founder. If he had not read Teresa's Works at the beginning of his spiritual pilgrimage, would it have taken the course it did? What would have happened if he had read the works of St. John of the Cross instead?

Interesting speculations must, however, give way to facts, including the recognition that Teresa of Avila provided a bridge for De Foucauld to John of the Cross. So brief consideration must now be given to the latter's contribution to the hermit's thought.

In contrast to his perception of St. Teresa and St. Francis as individuals, De Foucauld had very little concern for St. John of the Cross as a person, partly no doubt because he left no autobiographical writings.¹⁸⁷ Both explicit references and attributable allusions are difficult to trace in De Foucauld's meditations or letters, and much rarer than his references to Teresa.¹⁸⁸ Why? Two reasons spring to mind. The first is that De Foucauld came to read John ten years after beginning to study Teresa, so much that the two held in common would not have been noted or quoted as something novel. The second is that in three areas where John is distinctive in his approach, De Foucauld found Teresa more congenial: generally, in her use of concrete examples and imagery, practically, in her concern for reforming and administering foundations, and theologically, in her devotion to the humanity of Christ.¹⁸⁹

Yet despite these differences in outlook, John's works received the same detailed treatment as Teresa's had (probably between March 1898 and March 1899),¹⁹⁰ and many of his themes appear in De Foucauld's meditations of the period.¹⁹¹ Two in particular may be noted. One, concerning the need to check spiritual experiences by recourse to a wise spiritual

director;¹⁹² which De Foucauld understood not in terms of validating mystical experiences (on which subject his writings and letters maintained almost total silence), but of scrutinising ideas about decisions to be made. The concept of obedience associated with this understanding was a life-long concern of De Foucauld, which also affected the other major line of thought borrowed from St. John of the Cross: his conception of the imitatio Christi, which is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

3 - THE CONTEXT OF IMITATION

Much of De Foucauld's theoretical thinking on the imitatio Christi can be traced directly back to underlined quotations in his extracts from the works of St. John of the Cross, as a few examples will illustrate. The necessity for the Christian life to be a becoming like our 'humiliated and crucified Lord' established,¹⁹³ De Foucauld went on to note how it came about. Union with God's will¹⁹⁴ is a natural aspect of love, for 'The character of love is to desire union, conformity, and resemblance with the loved object'.¹⁹⁵ Such a single minded outlook requires one to rise above love for oneself or any creature.¹⁹⁶ Then the Holy Spirit transforms the soul and makes it like God, 'not through the union of essence, but through the union of participation'.¹⁹⁷ So the faculties are divinised, the soul's actions conformed to God, and its prayers and works rendered effective.¹⁹⁸ The result being that:

...the soul lives much more in the object which it loves, than in the body which it animates. It does not receive its life from the body, to which, on the contrary, it communicates it, and its love makes it really live in that which it loves.¹⁹⁹

So, quoting Galatians 2.20, John of the Cross went on to say that the lover lives in the beloved, and vice versa:

...so much that this transformation establishes between them a resemblance so striking that each seems to be the other, and both only be one.²⁰⁰

Hence, as far as is possible in this world, the soul becomes 'God by participation'.²⁰¹

Echoes of all these principles may be picked up in De Foucauld's meditations (typical references are given in the notes), thus establishing that his fundamental outlook on the imitatio Christi was one of love. But

these meditations are also interesting for showing how De Foucauld placed his thought in the context of obedience as well. The first mention of the connection between them appears in a letter of 24 January 1897:

Let us pray ... that we may always remain on the ladder of love that Jacob saw in a dream: the ladder the angels move up and down for all eternity, treading the rungs ceaselessly, for ever: admiration, contemplation, imitation, possession, union of heart and will, glorification of the Beloved, obedience. Obedience is the final, the highest, the most perfect of the rungs of love, the one where we ourselves cease to exist, where we are annihilated, where we die as Jesus died on the cross, where we hand over to the Beloved a body and soul without life, without will, with no movement of its own, a body and soul he can do what he likes with as with a corpse. There is absolutely no doubt that this is the highest rung of love, the rung that encompasses all the others, goes beyond them, is transcendent, above everything, beyond everything. It's the doctrine of all the saints, St. Teresa's doctrine (labelled 'heavenly' in the bull of her canonization), Jesus' doctrine. So let us always obey with our whole soul and we shall always love with our whole soul.²⁰²

Obedience was one of the themes that De Foucauld considered in his November 1897 retreat,²⁰³ and he mentioned in passing that 'love shows itself in obedience'.²⁰⁴ More consideration was given to the subject in the following June, when he observed that the first thing to be done to truly imitate Christ 'is to imitate him in his obedience at every moment to his Father',²⁰⁵ not through direct knowledge of the Father's will as Jesus did, but through what De Foucauld considered the guaranteed and infallible mediation of a spiritual director, explaining that: 'he is not infallible, but we are infallible in obeying him "Who hears you, hears me"'.²⁰⁶ So the director is a guide to all the other aspects of the imitatio Christi. Indeed, in De Foucauld's opinion, 'Without a spiritual director we cannot imitate Jesus,...apart from some infinitely rare exceptions',²⁰⁷ in the case of solitary hermits, who, however, may be said to have entered that state, and let themselves be guided 'solely by the Holy Spirit without any human intermediary',²⁰⁸ through obedience to a spiritual director.

So, in practical terms, imitation comes after obedience,

... otherwise one could be mistaken, for there are things which are perfections in God and which could be imperfections in us, to fast for example, when it is not our duty... although in reality they should be on the same level, for obedience is only 'to conform to God speaking' and imitation 'to conform to God acting' and both only 'to conform to his perfection, to the perfect will of God known either by his words or by his examples.²⁰⁹

Thus, 'The first and last degree of imitation is obedience'.²¹⁰

While he was pursuing this theme, De Foucauld had not forgotten that imitation included contemplation as well, 'since Jesus ceaselessly contemplated God and ceaselessly obeyed him',²¹¹ and also because imitation and contemplation were aspects of love:

From the first moment that one loves, one imitates and contemplates: imitation and contemplation necessarily, naturally form part of love, for love turns to union, to the transformation of the being who loves into the being loved, to the unification of the being who loves with the being loved; and imitation is union, unification of one being with another through resemblance; contemplation is union of one being with another through knowledge and insight....²¹²

Hence, putting both themes together, it can be said that:

Love has three daughters inseparable from it, when they are directed to a perfect Being, to the only perfect Being, they are: contemplation, imitation, obedience; these three daughters are all equal, in that all three are absolutely necessary effects and companions of love, and also because they are, so to speak, mothers of it. For each of them is at the same time a cause of love and produces love in the same measure as it exists itself: the more one contemplates God, the more one loves him, the more one imitates him, the more one loves him; the more one obeys him, the more one loves him.

Contemplation is in some ways the first of the three, in that it is the most necessary to produce love, and in that it is also necessary when one loves, to be able to practice imitation and obedience well...so that one can say of it, that the more it is perfect, the more imitation and obedience will be. For imitation and obedience to be perfect it is necessary that contemplation be, one can only imitate and obey on condition of knowing, and it is through contemplation that one knows; so that contemplation is the condition of imitation and obedience.

Imitation and obedience are also each the first, not each first of the three, but both first together for both have this in common that they include everything, they include all the virtues, including love itself, including her other two daughtersso imitation and obedience are superior to contemplation in that they contain it and all the other perfections with them, and in that one of them includes the other.²¹³

Thus, 'in establishing us either in obedience or imitation our Lord established us in perfect love',²¹⁴ a truth that is summarised in a couple of verses of scripture (Jn 15.7f.) which 'contain the whole foundation of our spiritual life':

Abide in me (love)... If you abide in me and my words abide in you (obedience), ask what you will (prayer, contemplation).... that which glorifies my Father (glory of God) is that you bear much fruit (sanctification of self and neighbour) and that you be my disciples (imitation).²¹⁵

Indeed, it is the message of the gospel from beginning to end, as De Foucauld observed in a meditation which clearly put the primary accent on love:

...Imitation is the daughter, sister, mother of love. Let us imitate Jesus because we love him; let us imitate Jesus to love him more! Let us imitate Jesus because he asks us and to obey is to love...The first word of Jesus to his apostles is "Come and see", that is to say, "Follow me and behold", that is to say, "imitate and contemplate". The last is "Follow me", that is to say, "Imitate me".²¹⁶

Imitation and obedience each contain the perfection of divine love since Jesus both practised and taught it. So each includes the other, 'the love of God is however the first, for it is a divine perfection'.²¹⁷

Love, imitation, and obedience are unqualified only because of their object:²¹⁸ Jesus. For although man cannot attain perfection in this life, as De Foucauld appreciated,²¹⁹ it is the goal for which he should aim. Hence, thinking in terms of another well-known verse from the fourth gospel (Jn 14.6),²²⁰ Jesus is the only possible complete model: The only 'way' (distinguished, as has been noted above,²²¹ from even the

holiest of saints), and as the only 'truth', the sole person meriting perfect obedience. From what has been said about union with Christ it is clear that Jesus was not merely a personified ethic, but the only 'life' for De Foucauld also. 'The life of souls', he considered, 'through your grace and through the most holy sacrament',²²² a comment which links the themes of love, imitation, obedience, and contemplation once again. For De Foucauld came to a three-part understanding of contemplation of Christ present in himself, in the eucharist, and in the Mysteries of His earthly life.²²³

In De Foucauld's considered opinion, reached around the end of 1898, these three methods of contemplation were equally valid, necessary, and complementary to each other,²²⁴ although this realisation must be balanced by his perennial personal preference for particular times and places. So on one hand, De Foucauld's thought did show movement in that it now recognised the perpetual presence of Christ in the soul of the believer, having gone on from a more or less literal seeking for Jesus in the sacred places of the Holy Land²²⁵ and following him moment by moment through his life.²²⁶ But on the other, a concern for place remained in De Foucauld's thinking in the form of his belief in pilgrimages,²²⁷ in a concept of Christ present in the eucharist and acting not unlike some powerful but benevolent atomic radiation,²²⁸ and perhaps most persistently of all, his predilection for enclosure: that is, for a time-tabled life in a delimited area, a preference that is of sufficient significance in De Foucauld's life to merit separate treatment in the next chapter.

Meanwhile, in the light of his understanding of knowledge of Jesus as the 'way' and the 'truth' coming through 'memory',²²⁹ of his earthly life as recorded in scripture, consideration must now be given to De Foucauld's approach to the Bible.

4 - PERSPECTIVES ON JESUS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Although De Foucauld once wrote that scripture was strong meat and should only be meditated on with one's spiritual director's advice,²²⁹ it always had a fundamental place in his spirituality. This can be seen from comments made at all periods of his life and in the prescriptions given in his Rules.

Thus one of the first things which upset De Foucauld when he arrived at Akbès in 1890 was that the amount of manual work necessary to keep the community going cut down the amount of time that could be spent on reading.²³⁰ In fact, his cousin at home could read more than he could, although God managed to keep him alive somehow on a few verses from Isaiah and the Gospels, something, he wrote, that he would not have believed possible a year previously.²³¹ Later on, De Foucauld felt a bit more philosophical about the problem and decided that the result of the pressures on his time was that quality had replaced quantity.²³² However, such thinking was never to undermine his belief in the value of daily meditation for himself or others, as can be seen from a recommendation to a friend some twenty years after this.

The teachings of a short passage from the Gospels of ten to twenty lines, should be, advised De Foucauld, meditated on mentally or in writing²³³ with the aim of being:

...impregnated with the Spirit of Jesus, ceaselessly reading and re-reading, meditating and re-meditating his words and example: so that they become in his soul as it were a drop of water falling and falling on to the same spot of a paving stone.²³⁴

As far as the content of the reading was concerned, De Foucauld's outlook is to be found summarised in the provisions of the 1899 Rule. Article 12 required that the prior should read a passage from the Gospels

and explain it to the Brothers at evening chapel.²³⁵ For seven months of the year this should follow the liturgical calendar from Advent to Ascension day, with the addition of passages relevant to the eucharist and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus taking the Brothers up to 30 June.²³⁶ The normal pattern for the rest of the year was to read steadily through the four Gospels in turn, except on Sundays (when the catechism was to be explained), feast days and their eves (which had their own set readings), and during the annual retreat (when the Rule was considered).²³⁷

The Brothers were to meditate each day on the passage that had been explained to them the evening before, remembering that the whole purpose of the exercise was to love, obey, and imitate Jesus more. There was also time set aside for daily private reading of the Bible, at least for the priests among them.²³⁸ For besides the reading of the Gospel passage and half-an-hour's written meditation on it, there was provision for reading one chapter from the Old Testament and one from the rest of the New Testament.

This scheme which De Foucauld was to follow in the years ahead²³⁹ might be thought to be an admirably balanced approach to scripture which allowed both breadth and depth in understanding. There is a lot of truth in this, but it must be remembered that in his formative years at Nazareth De Foucauld's approach had one other aspect which did not get mentioned in the Rule, although it was of fundamental significance. For the sequential reading of the Gospels, which might be expected to complement the liturgical perspective which ignored the public ministry of Jesus, had two features, which tended to qualify such a broadening of outlook.

An obvious (but not unimportant) point, is that an orderly reading of the Gospels naturally puts the most stress on the first of them,

especially if the reading is interrupted and started again from the beginning.²⁴⁰ The other, but more significant, fact is that De Foucauld did not come to the Gospels open-minded, but with a series of categories which seem to be associated with, if not derived from an ascetical-mystical understanding of their purpose. Certainly the thematic approach adopted from 6 June 1897 could be explained in terms of the following statement, which dates from about October 1898, about the difference between the Gospels. De Foucauld considered that all of them were intended to light the fire of love in the hearts of believers through their record of Jesus' word and example. But the first three were primarily preparatory,

...in stripping us, separating us from the love of creatures. In the fourth, you establish us there firstly in calling us directly to this love; secondly in throwing us, thrusting us, sinking us, in the four virtues most fitted to invincibly establish us in the divine love, obedience to God, his imitation, his contemplation, neighbour love; thirdly, lastly, as, after admiration, nothing is more fitted to provoke love than love itself,

Jesus demonstrates his love for us in his words, and in the giving of himself in the eucharist and on the cross.²⁴¹

Be that as it may, De Foucauld began a series of meditations²⁴² on 6 June 1897 with the intention of considering each of the Gospels in turn under the headings of a list of fifteen virtues: To do everything in the sight of God alone, faith, hope, charity, humility, courage, love of truth, prayer, chastity, obedience, poverty, abjection, manual work, penance, and retreat. As it turned out, meditations were only written on the first four of these, and a similar compilation²⁴³ with the same expressed aim dealt solely with two subjects: prayer and faith.

However, the complete list of virtues was considered during De Foucauld's retreat in November,²⁴⁴ and a like approach was taken to the

extracts which he took from the Gospels. Thus the various versions²⁴⁵ of his summary of the life and teaching of Jesus placed some 375 verses under headings which incorporated all these virtues. This De Foucauld read continually,²⁴⁶ and eventually used it to preface the 1909-13 Directoire, as a shorter alternative to the original 1899 Rule which introduced each of its forty chapters with strings of quotations of anything between 28 and 81 verses.²⁴⁷ The thematic approach was also followed in his meditations of 9-17 June 1898, in which he used an unclassified set of 680 extracts from the Gospels²⁴⁸ to write 300 brief meditations²⁴⁹ on four particular themes: the imitation of Christ, love for one's neighbour, poverty, and abjection.

What is to be made of this thematic approach to meditation during 1897-1898? Answers may be given to this question on three levels: context, content, and overall significance. As far as the context is concerned, it should be remembered that this approach was not followed in isolation. For De Foucauld was also meditating on the Gospels in a straightforward sequential manner during this period,²⁵⁰ as well as considering parts of the Old Testament.²⁵¹ But having said that, examination of the meditations shows that they were often not very closely related to the text or theme under discussion, but that a few broad lines of thought tended to constantly recur: either 'vertically', between different sets of meditations made at the same time, or 'horizontally', between members of the same set made over a period, the consequence of these two factors being similarities between meditations made at different times and in different connections.

Thus to take an example from two of the writings just mentioned, close resemblance may be seen between the retreat of November 1897 and

the meditations of June 1898. For whilst the retreat examined the Christian life under an extensive list of the virtues, 70% of De Foucauld's attention appears to have been focussed on just four of them: Charity (26%), poverty (18%), penance (18%), and abjection (7%).²⁵² Similarly in 1898, in the concern expressed for love for one's neighbour (51%), abjection (20%), and poverty (14%).²⁵³ Yet this formal likeness should not blind one to a difference in emphasis in the two discussions of the first topic. For the 1897 deliberations which were on both aspects of charity (love for God and man) were chiefly concerned with the definition of De Foucauld's vocation in terms of the concept of 'Nazareth', and only after that did he turn to the question of what this allowed him to do for his neighbour,²⁵⁴ whilst the 1898 meditations were more outward looking, with their main conclusion based on the neighbour's claims rather than the would-be helper's preconditions:

1. Be for all men, in thoughts, words and deeds, what a very tender father wishes his children to be to each other...
2. Conduct ourselves with all men as Jesus would conduct himself in our place...3. Be for all men, in thoughts, words and deeds, what we wish Jesus to be for us. 4. Be for all men, in thoughts, words and deeds, what is the most advantageous for the sanctification of souls...
5. See in all men members of the mystical body of Jesus (of which they are all near or distant substance), consider in consequence that everything we think, say, do in relation to them, we think it, say it, do it in relation to the body of Jesus, and conduct ourselves in consequence of this faith. That is what Jesus says (Mt 25) "All that you did unto one of these little ones, you did unto me".²⁵⁵

It was this passage from Matthew 25 which struck De Foucauld more than any other from the Gospels, as both frequent quotation²⁵⁶ and explicit acknowledgment²⁵⁷ testify, although the open-endedness of the imitatio Christi propounded in this meditation must be seen in the light of other aspects of his thought which did not change between 1897 and 1898: abjection, poverty, and penance, all components of the imitation of the

hidden life of Nazareth which De Foucauld believed to be his vocation.

The question of the degree to which De Foucauld defined the content of the imitatio Christi is an interesting although complex problem which does not command a simple answer. For, granted that he chose a particular list of virtues to base his thinking on, their content was not fixed a priori, but given by Jesus' words or actions. Yet the selection of appropriate passages from the Gospels for each of these topics was another form of control.²⁵⁸ However, one's conclusion about the outcome of this must take note of the additional degree of flexibility which De Foucauld's approach allowed in specific situations, either through his interpretation of particular texts or on account of the general context of his thinking.

So, to deal with the question of interpretation first, mention may be made of De Foucauld's deductions from the Gospel accounts of healing miracles. These were to be understood, he considered, as an invitation to do everything possible for others with the gifts that God had given one, within the limits of one's vocation, as guided by one's spiritual director.²⁵⁹ Another 'hard text', the command to the disciples to take no provisions or resources on their preaching tours, prompted thoughts on the relation of the particular to the general, and of letter to spirit.

On the first issue, De Foucauld concluded that individual commands of Jesus should be taken in the context of his whole life and teaching, and be interpreted in the light of his example (Did Jesus always do himself what he commanded on a specific occasion, or did he show, by both word and example, that a particular command had a limited application?) As far as the question of letter and spirit was concerned, De Foucauld did not use the distinction to avoid any demands of a command. For

whilst he held that the question was not one of whether or not a particular item should be taken on a preaching tour; he firmly maintained that the Gospel account enjoined general poverty, both inward and outward, similar to that of Jesus: the poverty' of the poorest artisans'.²⁶⁰ The themes of letters and spirit, and inward and outward imitation will be taken up again shortly, but the significant fact common to both these examples is that the flexibility of De Foucauld's interpretation was limited by his concept of vocation. Such qualification of potentially open-ended approaches to the imitatio Christi is also to be found in one additional aspect of his thought mentioned earlier: mediation of imitation of Christ by imitation of the saints.

Thus, when De Foucauld defined his vocation as a following of the virtues of the 'Nazareth' life at the end of his 1897 retreat,²⁶¹ he went on to define love for God and man by means of two further models:

The Holy Virgin is already my mother and St. Joseph my father. I should regard St. Magdelene as a second mother and my model and learn from her the love of Jesus, contemplation, poverty of spirit, detachment from all that is not God, breaking from all that is little, earthly, personal, penance, the way to empty the soul in order to leave all the room for the love of God alone and for the love of men for God's sake... I should consider St. Paul as my second father and my model, and learn of him to passionately love all men for God's sake, to be agreeable with them and to fulfil all my duties to them.²⁶²

Each of these four people figured in De Foucauld's thinking during the Holy Land years; but their influence was not uniform or independent from that of each other. Thus, insofar as Mary Magdelene and Paul were not only seen as complementary guides to love for God and love for man, but also as representatives for the contemplative and active lives, Magdelene was the most significant of the four. Yet De Foucauld's appreciation of her was not static, and some of the values she incarnated were shared with others, as will be seen in the following summary.

Mary Magdelene was first classed with John the Baptist as a guide to 'mortification' as the quintessence of the Christian life,²⁶³ and as a symbol of the hermitic vocation,²⁶⁴ but this understanding was to be modified, although not completely replaced, by her function as a symbol of the contemplative life in general. Thus although De Foucauld once spent a few pages arguing (repeatedly because he wasn't really convinced?) that if Magdelene and John the Baptist knew that the contemplative way was the most important, Mary and Joseph must also have realised it,²⁶⁵ he came to argue for the priority of the values enshrined in the 'Nazareth' life. Focus should not be on Magdelene in her desert cave (as in French tradition),²⁶⁶ but Magdelene at Bethany.²⁶⁷

So, besides the ascetic values and detachment associated with John the Baptist, consideration was also given to its corollary: attachment to Jesus in loving attention ('the best part', vis-à-vis the busy Marthas), at Bethany and other points of the Gospel story,²⁶⁸ thus reinforcing the feminine side of the imitatio Christi, which De Foucauld was also sensitive to in its manward aspect of Jesus' compassion for people.²⁶⁹ Love for God and men went together, as De Foucauld realised

in arriving at the conclusion that separation from men could only be a temporary, although necessary, expedient. For, apart from the forty days in the wilderness at the beginning of his public ministry, Jesus spent all his life in the company of others, reserving only the nights for solitary prayer. So his example and precept (Mt 18.20) should be followed:

...our reading, our prayers, our labours, let us always do them in common, let us love to speak with our brothers, in the midst of them of him who is in the midst of us,...²⁷⁰

At this point De Foucauld was thinking no further than the difference between the hermitic and the cenobitic life, for the people who Jesus was described as living with were his parents or his disciples, not the general public. Nevertheless, the supremacy of the Nazareth concept over the original Magdelene one was the beginning of a train of thought which was to end up with the idea of the Christian living with all men as his brothers. But such a development took a long time, and the more congenial concept of imitating Magdelene's hermitic life was often to recur in the years ahead.²⁷¹

Meanwhile, in the course of his devotion to the Virgin Mary (which was separate from concern for Jesus, Joseph, and Mary together as the Holy Family, and pre-dated interest in Mary Magdelene),²⁷² De Foucauld came to see imitation of her role in the Mystery of the Visitation as the symbol of the manward aspect of his vocation:

...without coming out from the hidden life, without emerging from silence, she sanctified the house of St. John in carrying Jesus there and in practising the evangelical virtues. At her example, sanctify souls without departing from silence, in bearing among unbelieving peoples, with a small number of brothers, Jesus in the Holy Sacrament, and the practice of the evangelical virtues through a life imitating the hidden life of our Lord.²⁷³

It will be noted that the imitation of Christ and the imitation of Mary were closely linked here, and this is generally true of De Foucauld's thinking. So from one point of view there was no distinction between the two, and he could speak of them in opposite orders of precedence in the same paragraph. Thus on one occasion De Foucauld expressed a hope that his friend Jérôme be a faithful child of Mary, remembering that 'to be true brothers of Jesus, it is necessary to be true sons of Mary', and also that all his thoughts, words, and deeds would echo her affirmation: 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy will'.²⁷⁴

Yet to speak of the Visitation as part of Mary's life, rather than part of Jesus', does tend to limit further development of thought about other ways in which the life of Jesus might be imitated. So in this regard, it is interesting to observe how De Foucauld switched from one approach to the other, and eventually abandoned characterisation of his vocation in terms of the Visitation in 1902, around the same time as John the Baptist ceased to be a relevant model.²⁷⁵

At least part of this change of outlook is attributable to the influence of the fourth of De Foucauld's models from the New Testament: St. Paul, who, besides having a symbolic function as representative of the active, apostolic life, was also a real person to De Foucauld from the time of his 1896 visit to the traditional site of the saint's martyrdom in Rome.²⁷⁶ Having then taken Paul as a second father in November 1897, De Foucauld resolved to read the Epistles,²⁷⁷ enjoyed them,²⁷⁸ and made a collection of extracts.²⁷⁹ Meditations of the period include many quotations or passing references, as well as specific consideration of imitation of Paul as an imitator of Christ, although

the themes of devotion to manual work,²⁸⁰ abjection,²⁸¹ and poverty²⁸² that De Foucauld picked up did not add anything new to his concept, except in one instance which provided a possible point of growth: the reminder that Paul had preached Christ crucified, which should lead one to the imitatio Christi '... in often thinking of his Passion, and in offering ourselves with him each day to his father, completely...'²⁸³

A thought which was complemented in De Foucauld's thinking by the affirmation of Romans 8.28: 'All things work together for good for them that love God and are called according to his purpose'.

This theme of love, trust, and grace was to predominate over concern for the suffering inherent in the Christian life in the extracts from the Epistles which De Foucauld made during his ordination retreat,²⁸⁴ and also in the reworked version of this selection made the following year.²⁸⁵ 1902 was also to see a cell in the new Beni-Abbès chapel named after St. Paul,²⁸⁶ whilst scattered references in De Foucauld's letters indicate that the Apostle's example and teaching were kept in mind in later years.²⁸⁷ But his influence appears to have been most significant in 1903, in an ironical situation through which an out-of-context quotation in support of his ascetical practices²⁸⁸ laid De Foucauld open to more serious and fundamental questioning by Guérin as to whether imitatio Christi in the light of St. Paul involved a more apostolic outlook than he was prepared to allow. But that is another story²⁸⁹ which must wait until consideration has been given to his basic 'Nazareth' concept of vocation, and the developments in that idea which took place between 1897 and 1901.

5 - THE 'NAZARETH' LIFE : FOUNDATION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

According to both the traditional seventeenth century concept of the imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth,²⁹⁰ and Huvelin's understanding and recommendation of it to De Foucauld; it was a way of life which varied with one's vocation or external circumstances. For its aspects of obedience and submission, self-effacement and obscurity, work and contemplation, humility and the embracing of the cross,²⁹¹ could be expressed in different ways. Indeed, Huvelin was to tell De Foucauld that Nazareth was wherever one worked with Jesus in humility, poverty, and silence,²⁹² a statement that was eventually to be accepted after a long period in thought and experience from the point at which De Foucauld understood his vocation in the most literal and fixed terms, a position well expressed in a letter of 12 April 1897:

I am settled in Nazareth henceforth....The good God has let me find here, to the fullest extent, what I wanted: poverty, solitude, abjection, very humble work, complete obscurity, as perfect an imitation as possible of the life of our Lord Jesus in this same Nazareth. Love imitates, love wants to conform with its beloved; it tends to unite everything, their souls in the same feelings, all the moments of existence in a kind of identity of life; that is why I am here. La Trappe made me ascend, made me a life of study, an honoured life. That is why I left it and embraced here the humble and hidden life of the divine workman at Nazareth....I am very happy; my heart has what it yearned for so many years. Nothing remains now beyond going to heaven.²⁹³

But this certainty was challenged in the next twelve months, and De Foucauld's thought developed in three respects: Firstly, in the matter of the relationship between the Nazareth years and the rest of Jesus' life, secondly, with regard to the essential features of imitation of the 'Nazareth life', and the question as to whether its inward and outward aspects were of equal significance, and thirdly, the

same problem posed in the form of consideration of the difference between following the letter and following the spirit of a rule of life. De Foucauld's ideas on these issues changed more or less simultaneously, but for convenience the fortunes of each will be outlined individually.

THE THREE LIVES

De Foucauld's thinking about 'Nazareth' began with the assumption that the three stages of Jesus' life (the hidden years, the temptations, and the public ministry) had legitimated three distinct and exclusive types of religious life (the 'Nazareth' life of contemplation in contact with one's immediate neighbours, the strictly contemplative life of the desert, and the life of priests and apostles, respectively),²⁹⁴ and that God had called him to the first of these.

However, in April-May 1897, De Foucauld took a closer look and decided that the three lives did have certain things in common ('Poverty, chastity, continual obedience to God, contemplation, practice of all the inward virtues. Without which, there is no imitation of our Lord'),²⁹⁵ and that just as Jesus moved from one to the other, so God might call individuals to do the same.²⁹⁶ That is, to take on an apostolic role after due preparation in the 'desert'.²⁹⁷ This was De Foucauld's theoretical conclusion, but he was unaware of any such call to himself, feeling more and more certain of his 'Nazareth' vocation. Apart from the concession that there might be brief forays from the enclosure for the sake of neighbours in need,²⁹⁸ this remained his conviction until October 1898, when he considered the possibility of changing both his function and place of residence if that were God's will. For, as he told Huvelin after recounting the story of how the Abbess of the Poor Clares at Jerusalem had

challenged him to examine his presuppositions:

If God's will is that I should be the chaplain to the good nuns, I am ready to obey, and to be so until my death, if he so wills. I am sure that by doing so I should not be ceasing to imitate him. I should still be in his divine poverty, and should be changing the lowliness of the workman of Nazareth for the tribulations and crosses of the worker for the Gospel. There would be less solitude - but more works of charity.

If later our Lord chooses to send me a few souls to live the life of Nazareth in one of the deserts of the Holy Land where he walked and preached the Gospel in former times, to live with the contemplation, work, hospitality, charity and simplicity of the primitive ages, I am ready to obey. I should be equally following our Lord; crosses and conflict would replace the worker's obscurity - as they did for him; there would be less complete withdrawal, but more acts of charity.²⁹⁹

A similar train of thought may be observed in De Foucauld's retreat in 1901 for ordination to the diaconate. In this the life of Jesus was divided into four sections (hidden life, desert, public life, and Passion) corresponding to the four stages of the route to the priesthood (tonsure and four minor orders, sub-diaconate, diaconate, and priesthood, respectively). So, as a priest, De Foucauld could think of himself in one sense as having left the hidden life behind. Yet, after drawing out these metaphysical comparisons at some length,³⁰⁰ he came to a very clear practical conclusion about which of the three kinds of life he was to follow:

I am certainly not called to preaching, my soul is not capable of it, nor to the desert, my body cannot live without eating, so I am called to the life of Nazareth (of which my soul and body are capable, and for which I have the inclination).³⁰¹

A life which he went on to define as one with the *Petits Frères* which would be characterised by the virtues of imitation, obedience, contemplation, sacrifice, and the glorification of God in whatever works were compatible with Jesus' life at Nazareth,³⁰² and, in his ordination

retreat, as one that did not have to be lived where it was easiest to establish, or where the land was the most holy, but where the people were most needy.³⁰³

How this resolution worked out in practice will be examined later, for the moment it is necessary to return to the change in outlook of October 1898 to see how De Foucauld's concept of inward and outward imitation affected the issue.

INWARD AND OUTWARD IMITATION

De Foucauld always maintained his belief that Jesus' life should be imitated in its outward as well as its inward aspects, arguing that Jesus had acted as a unity,³⁰⁴ so belief in his teaching should affect and control both parts of one's own life.³⁰⁵ Indeed, it could do so, as the lives of the apostles and saints testified.³⁰⁶ So De Foucauld felt called to be an image of Christ in the same way, but made a distinction between the two in his realisation that outward imitation was useless without the inner of which it was the fruit.³⁰⁷

Of the list of virtues that characterised the Nazareth life, he chose faith, hope, charity, chastity, poverty, obedience, humility, courage, truth, and annihilation as the ones referring to the inward, leaving poverty (a significant repetition), abjection, work, retreat, penance, and prayer as the external virtues,³⁰⁸ although prayer was elsewhere described as the heart or foundation of the interior life,³⁰⁹ and the marks of the outward defined as poverty, abjection, and suffering through rejection, lack of food, and weariness.³¹⁰ However, there is no contradiction here as De Foucauld believed in both spiritual and material poverty, and considered prayer in terms of its inner nature as well as its outward form.

A further development in his understanding of the difference between the two aspects arose during consideration of the 'three lives', when De Foucauld came to the conclusion that perfect outward conformity to Jesus' life was a matter of following the particular one of these three to which one had been called,³¹¹ from which followed the definition given in the first Article of the 1899 Rule:

We apply ourselves to ceaselessly imitate our beloved Lord Jesus in order to be his faithful images in all our inner and outward acts... In our prayers we will ask Him for his spirit, the good spirit, which He has promised us. In our daily meditations and our annual retreat, we will reflect deeply on his words and his examples, so that we absorb, with his grace, his spirit so intimately, that we should think his thoughts, speak his words, do his actions, as much as it is possible... We will ask in everything how he would think, speak, act in the circumstances where we are, how he would think, speak, and act in our place; and we will try, with all our heart, to lovingly reproduce in ourselves the traits of our divine model... We will apply ourselves firstly and above all to imitate his inward virtues, to conform our soul to his soul which is totally burning with the love of God, totally employed to seek his glory alone, completely obedient to his will, completely applied to the imitation of his perfections, completely lost in his contemplation, completely burned like a holocaust by the fire of voluntary suffering, completely inflamed with love for men images of God, completely good, completely sweet, tender and merciful, wholly true, wholly humble, wholly simple, wholly courageous, wholly chaste, wholly detached; and at the same time we will take care to always imitate his outward works, his poverty, his penance, his meditation, his love of solitude, of obscurity and abasements, his infinite goodness for souls, hearts and bodies, his life consecrated to love, to serve and to save... We will ceaselessly bear in mind that he consecrated himself to the salvation of men to the point of being summed up and signified by his name of Jesus "saviour", and we will imitate Him in making the salvation of men the work of our lives.³¹²

Three strands of thought will be noted here. The priority of inward imitation, coupled with insistence on the outward, but with the whole set in the context of love and concern to make 'the salvation of men the work of our lives'. So the question naturally arises as to whether one of these was to prove to be dominant, or if they would

complement each other. Was life according to such a Rule (which went on to make some very precise and detailed demands) going to be flexible enough to meet changing situations? In other words, was it to be followed to the letter, or in its general spirit? But for an answer to that question it is first necessary to go back to De Foucauld's life as a Trappist in order to discover his basic attitude to rules and regulations.

SPIRIT AND LETTER: KEEPING THE RULE AND KEEPING THE RULES

'Keeping the Rule' is to be distinguished from 'keeping the rules' in much the same way as keeping the spirit of the law is to be differentiated from keeping the letter of it. A Rule is primarily a statement of aims and principles, rather than a set of detailed provisions for achieving them, although these may be included.³¹³ The Rule enshrines the distinctive ethos of an Order or Congregation, and (ideally) provides a general framework for a separate book of detailed usages and customs, which are more easily adapted to changing circumstances. Neither of these are ends in themselves. The rules are subsidiary to the Rule, and the Rule in its turn is subservient to its ultimate aim of bringing people to Christian perfection. As St. Benedict explains:

This Rule has been written in order that, by practising it in monasteries, we may show that we have attained some degree of virtue and the rudiments of monastic life.... Whoever, therefore, thou art that hastenest to thy heavenly country, fulfil first of all by the help of Christ this little Rule for beginners. And then at length, under God's protection, shalt thou attain those aforesaid loftier heights of wisdom and virtue.³¹⁴

Thus there is no room at any stage for complacency or self-congratulation in saying 'I have kept the Rule', or, 'I have kept the rules'. The most one can do is to try to follow the Rule faithfully and leave

the outcome to God. The aim is 'regularity', which is well defined in a description given of De Foucauld in his first year as a novice at Akbès.

He is the living Rule in its perfection, a model for all the community of silence, recollection, charity, obedience, penance; in a word, of regularity...We have only to pray for his perseverance.³¹⁵

De Foucauld found to his delight³¹⁶ at this time that in some ways it was easier to follow the letter of the customs and usages at Akbès than in the established mother house, except when the demands of manual work on the new estate took priority over the normal timetable. But he didn't think that the virtue of poverty was prized enough.³¹⁷ Eventually, this was to become the reason for his leaving the Trappists and searching for his own Rule, but for the moment he was not deeply concerned. He was happy to have a life which followed the Rule strictly, even if conditions weren't entirely ideal. As he reported to Dom Martin:

From the point of view of regularity I am as I was at N.D. des Neiges. I see no difference; since 1 October we have been doing the winter exercises, we follow the customs and usages without a single alteration. The thing that pleases me very much, regarding the lack of a cloister and so on, is that I find it isn't an obstacle to regularity; God who has sent us here in these conditions gives us the necessary grace to be able to be regular without that aid.³¹⁸

He kept the Rule 'neither more or less'³¹⁹ than at the mother house, although as the months passed he became critical of the way other people were keeping it. In June 1892 he asked for some good novices to be sent to Akbès, but wondered what sort of influences they would come under.

It is true, alas, that novices wouldn't find every desirable example of regularity here, but where would they find that? And they would certainly find good examples of humility, of charity, of courage in work. And you know, too, what a novice-master they would have in our dear Fr. Polycarpe who sets such a perfect example and is such a bright light. As for the Fr. Prior, he is the most charitable, devoted and upright of men...³²⁰

Only a small cloud, perhaps, but De Foucauld's concern persisted and deepened. A year later he was to reveal his feelings more clearly to Huvelin. The community appeared to be having a bad influence, not only on other novices, but on De Foucauld himself.

Sometimes I am a little worried about myself. People around me love Holy Poverty so little, they love austerity so little, they are so little desirous to follow our Saviour in the fragrance of his perfumes, that I am afraid, sometimes, of myself also losing esteem for these blessed virtues, or else for those around me, or both. This upsets me sometimes, and perhaps not enough...What is to be done? (In this 'people' I do not, however, include my good Fr. Polycarpe). Help me: set me on fire again. Do not let me lose the love for our Lord you put in my heart...³²¹

Then the problem. Should he vote to accept those novices

...who have genuine virtues and seem likely never to give the community trouble, but who otherwise seem to seek only some indefinable ideal of religious life which is peaceful, pious and easy, having all that is necessary and not a little besides, and who never follow the rule without mitigations either requested by themselves or happily accepted by them? Or should we accept only those who appear to be determined to seek our Lord cost what it may, following the rule and walking with our first fathers in the footsteps of our Lord Himself? These questions will not give you a high opinion of our loyalty to the rule, I'm afraid...³²²

In the meantime De Foucauld had expressed his disquiet about the discussions going on in Rome for the reunification of the Trappists. To him, organisational issues were secondary to the need to maintain the purity of the Rule as originally given. 'To interfere in any way with this life', he told Dom Martin (12.9.1892),

...would be an action I could never forgive the abbots and capitular fathers of our congregation, for after all everyone, like you and me, made a vow on entering this holy order to follow its rule, they entered the order on purpose to follow it and were admitted as a result of a promise to follow it; they weren't admitted so as to destroy it, for to cease to follow it to the letter is to destroy it, and it was for the purpose of following it to the letter that the Cistercian order came into being. ...we became Trappists so as to find the solitude, the poverty, the humble work, the penance which makes our holy order unique in the Church, the only one where those whom our Lord has called to follow him in his hidden life in Nazareth can find their place. If anything were changed regarding this...I would be inconsolable, because the order would no longer be the one I entered with such joy.³²³

At this point De Foucauld maintained that the letter of the Rule must be followed in order to preserve its essential spirit, but it did not take him long to come to a rather different conclusion. The essential spirit did not enshrine the perfection he was looking for. He had to admit that the compromise hammered out in bringing the congregations into line with each other was a reformation rather than a deformation of the Rule, but at the same time he came to see that his ideal could not be found within the Trappist, or any existing Order. He would either have to give it up or go it alone.³²⁴ Although De Foucauld produced his first outline for an alternative community in the autumn of 1893, and a Rule in June 1896, he had to wait more than three years before he was free to test it. Almost the last thing he did as a Trappist was to write an appreciation of Dom Polycarpe in September-October 1896 for a posthumous biography. It will be remembered that he was specifically excluded from De Foucauld's criticisms of laxity in the community at Akbès in 1892, the portrait that follows³²⁵ shows the impression that the 65 year old man made on him. It can also be seen as a mirror of De Foucauld's aspirations and a fleshing out of his brief summary of his rule of life as 'Ad maiorem Dei gloriam' in the context

of seeing himself as the servant of a 'humiliated and crucified God'.³²⁶

Dom Polycarpe was seen as an example of heroic devotion to duty and absolute self-forgetfulness, a paragon of the virtues of humility and poverty, yet also overflowing with kindness to others in need. His conscientiousness and courage were not ends in themselves, but a means of service to others. It is in this sense that De Foucauld wrote that

He observed the smallest details of the Rule, and often repeated, 'Be faithful to the Rule in little things, so as to be so in the great, and do not forget that to obey the Rule is to obey God'.

He was truly 'dead' to himself, truly 'mortified and crucified', no more occupied with himself than if he had not existed.

De Foucauld was to echo this position in his own appreciation of the functions of obedience and a Rule. Both 'make us vanquish ourselves a hundred times a day in a host of little ways: these little victories are nothing in themselves, but if one understands how much they are nothings and does not attach to them an importance they do not possess, it is a good way to make us masters of ourselves and increase in courage little by little',³²⁷ on the way to fulfilling the duty to 'be perfect as your heavenly father is perfect'.

But by this time he had long decided that the content of the Rule was of as much importance as its observance, however wonderful an example Dom Polycarpe was as an isolated individual, De Foucauld felt that the Order generally was at fault. It was 'not based on a sufficiently genuine poverty',³²⁸ so the proposed changes to the Rule would only deal with surface issues. It would even be true to say, he thought, that 'we are turning ever more completely and further away from the poverty and humility of the lowly life of Nazareth that I came here to seek'.³²⁹ It was time to seek a new Rule: a task which was easy

to set and difficult to execute.

Huvelin found De Foucauld's projected Rule of 1896 'absolutely impractical',³³⁰ and begged him not to go on planning any further or to seek companions. Even if they did come to join him and live the same kind of life they should not be bound by a Rule.³³¹ Nor should he bind himself by becoming a member of the Third Order of St. Francis, although he could follow the saint's spirit.³³² De Foucauld's own Rule should not contain anything too cut and dried, nor should he attempt to make detailed alterations to the Rule of St. Benedict. Adaptation would only produce complications. What he should do was to try to live according to its spirit.³³³

De Foucauld saw the force of these arguments and began to think more in terms of following the spirit of an example rather than keeping the letter of a Rule. Near the beginning of the notes he started on 6 June 1897 he imagined Christ telling him:

Follow me. I am your rule: do everything that I would do '...That is your only rule, but your absolute rule'... a rule, but a holy freedom in applying it, as I myself would. The important thing is to pray, above all, to love.³³⁴

The last point followed naturally from the opening statement.

It was not a matter of 'This is your rule', but 'I am your rule'. So De Foucauld speaks not only of his vocation and rule, but of his whole being, of his personal relationship with the rule-giver, and consequently with all men. It is essential that his mind be

...full of the love of God, forgetful of yourself ...
full of love for your neighbour for my sake ... free,
tranquil, at peace,³³⁵

Nothing is prescribed except his vocation to 'Preach the Gospel silently as I did in my hidden life, as also did Mary and Joseph'. There should

be no restriction on openness to God and one's neighbour through prejudice, habit or worry.

In his retreat in November De Foucauld considered what he might learn from the example of other Christians and decided that their contribution was strictly secondary to the way shown by Christ.³³⁶ On the other hand, he was to live as far as possible by the conclusions he had reached in drawing up the 1896 Rule, instead of continually asking 'What would Jesus do?'. Though, once more, prayer and love were paramount. De Foucauld felt he should not waste time over the details of the precise amount of food or kinds of clothes he should be getting, but be keeping all his energies for thinking of, loving and serving God. Continually changing the rules would be an external activity of limited use.³³⁷ Far better to follow the general rule of accepting from the nuns what he thought Jesus would accept from his mother.³³⁸ The outward was important, but only in the context of the inward. He imagined Christ telling him to imitate him in both, but to note that:

However perfect my external life here was, it was nothing besides my interior life, for you also, your life here should be completely turned towards heaven, Prayers are your great concern, the rest is a shell intended to hide you, to give you peace; your life of prayer is the heart, is the foundation of your life, it is the most pure and most fragrant fruit of love and love is the first commandment. This is your life for the moment: to imitate me inwardly and outwardly in my hidden life of Nazareth and be submissive to Monsieur Huvelin. Don't be concerned with the rest.³³⁹

This was also the way to carry out the second commandment, for at Nazareth Jesus 'sanctified men infinitely more through his interior life'.³⁴⁰

Later on in the retreat De Foucauld considered several specific questions which were bothering him, including two directly related to the Rule of St. Benedict. Should he only have one meal of the kind

permitted by the Rule? What time should he say the canonical hours?³⁴¹

He remembered that Huvelin had given him leave to be flexible in following St. Benedict, and decided that he should not try to follow the

Benedictine timetable.³⁴² As a general conclusion, De Foucauld felt

that in following the spirit of St. Benedict rather than his Rule, he should be seeking peace and silence. Fussing about problems was be-

having rather like Martha at Bethany, instead of Mary Magdalene. It

was distracting him from the 'one thing necessary', loving contemplation.³⁴³

The problem about fasting would not, however, go away. De Foucauld realised that the number of meals he had each day was irrelevant, but he looked for the best way to follow the gospel injunctions to do penance in secret and at the same time do only as his spiritual director willed. The other considerations to bear in mind were the virtues of charity and poverty.

...you should behave well out of charity to your mothers; for the sake of poverty, for your sickness will be an expense to them; for penance, as illness will force you to some soulagements: continue as you are doing, but eat less and less in the evening; if you find that your health does not suffer from it you can get to the stage of eating only a mouthful, or nothing at all... you have permission for this from your director by the latitude which he allows you in following the rule of St. Benedict. ...if you find that your health feels the effects of this fast, eat well, as you have been doing, but try to eat less ... one should always try...³⁴⁴

So two months later he informed Huvelin that he had re-adopted the Trappist winter fast in preference to his usual practice which was becoming too lax.

Feast days are numerous in this diocese and the good abbess increases them still more for me. On feast days and Sundays I take the same meals as the Clares, coffee for the morning, dinner at midday, collation in the evening. Other days I live on bread, until now I have been having two meals, but my life is so little mortified, I suffer so little that I have undertaken from yesterday to have only one... I believe it a good thing to be doing this

little nothing for the good God. I do not wear a hair shirt. I have no mind to wear it, but if you advise me to, I will take it. My only mortification is the discipline.³⁴⁵

That was in January 1898. However, matters could not rest there as De Foucauld found that he had to abandon the fast for a week at the beginning of March as it made him feel sick and weak, although spiritually rather than physically. Was this the right thing to do or was he falling for a devilish trick to prevent him carrying out a good penance? The question was rhetorical as the letter informing Huvelin of his feelings also went on to say that he was going straight back to the strict regime of one meal a day. This, he thought, could be justified by Huvelin's general approval of his Rule of life. De Foucauld was going to make some allowance for the fact that he had a body, but all the same, the recognition worried him a bit.

I count on obedience to give me strength. However, to be prudent and to make the thing easy, I will take a cup of black coffee at 8 am for the first week. After this time, if I see that all goes well, I will stop taking this relief.- Do I do well to act thus? Would I do better to cast myself on belief in obedience, without this measure of prudence?³⁴⁶

At the end of the year, as the date of changing from the summer to the winter observance passed by, De Foucauld once again expressed his disregard for the frailties of the body, in this instance, for the frailties of other people who did not have such an iron constitution as he did. One of the four reasons he gave for giving up the Rule of St. Benedict was that the allowances made for those who could not maintain the winter fast militated against the achievement of perfection, for the community became divided into three groups at mealtimes: the healthy; those whose diet had to be supplemented by a collation, and the sick, who had two full meals. 'This division', he considered, 'harms poverty,

regularity, and recollection'. It meant that 'certain tables at meal-times did not have readings. In short, it is harmful to souls in many ways, and that alone is sufficient to make the abandonment of the rule of the Benedictine day more perfect than its maintenance.'³⁴⁷

It does not seem to have occurred to De Foucauld that practical consideration for other people's varied endowments and helping them all to achieve as much perfection as they were capable of, could be of as much importance as an individual's own particular journey towards it. But his eyes were steadily fixed on the latter, to the extent of his intending to be more like St. Benedict than St. Benedict, if that were possible.

I envisage the rule of St. Benedict... practised in the spirit of St. Benedict, and for that reason following his rule in many points, but not in all. That is the life I should have offered Brother Pierre if he had chosen to follow me and it is the one I practise. It is a little less austere than the ancient rule of La Trappe, but considerably more so than the present one. It is much simpler than either of them. It is largely relieved of the multitude of vocal prayers that weigh them down, and there is much more in it about poverty and work. "You are truly monks when you live by the labour of your hands, like our fathers and the apostles" the rule of St. Benedict says. I visualise a big reduction in exterior ceremonies so that - as among the ancient monks, - a great deal of time is left for mental prayer and the interior life, and also for practising charity towards our neighbour at every opportunity God affords - in short, "loving God and one's neighbour".³⁴⁸

The contradictions inherent in such an assertion soon struck him and within a week he corrected himself. He should really have been talking about monastic life rather than the specifically Benedictine.

Although in shaping my own day I follow the Benedictine rule, I should not like to adopt either the Benedictine habit or the Benedictine rule as such. I venerate and admire them. But on the other hand the rule was made for big communities and not for "little flocks", and on the other - and more important - to adopt it would be to precipitate myself back into those discussions about the interpretation of texts

and the spirit and the letter in which one can drown,
and which leads good souls to spend their time thinking
of unimportant nothings instead of using it to love God.

Instead, he dreamt of

...something very simple and numerically small, resembling the simple communities of the Church's early days. A few souls united to lead the life of Nazareth, living like the Holy Family by their own labour and practising the Nazarene virtues in contemplating Jesus - a little family, a little monastic home, quite small and simple, and certainly not Benedictine.³⁴⁹

De Foucauld's meditations amplify a little on his reasons for leaving the Rule of St. Benedict. He felt that the controversies over the spirit and the letter arose because the Rule was uneven. On some matters it had a lot to say, but on others it was silent. Not only was the Rule not suitable for small communities of about twenty monks, it also had the wrong kind of structure for the kind of life he had in mind. For a hidden life there were too many hours set aside for unregulated prayer, reading and study. This could lead, he felt, to idleness or to study being undertaken in a spirit of mere curiosity, pride or dryness, both of which would be detrimental to prayer and one's devotional life.³⁵⁰

In making this last point De Foucauld seems to have been influenced by his current experience of dryness in prayer and lack of joy in reading,³⁵¹ and reverted to his earlier belief about the value of study, which he had recently felt to be mistaken. For less than a year previously he had written in quite a different tone.

I am always full of joy, rejoicing at the feet of Jesus. The simplicity of my life is profoundly pleasant to me, these long lonely hours of prayer and reading, spent so simply.... I am profoundly astonished to see that, far from distracting me from union with Jesus, my reading and theology bring me to deeper participation in it.³⁵²

Perhaps his profound astonishment was not deep enough to cancel his feeling that while he found theology very interesting there was a more basic question to answer. Was it relevant or necessary? 'How much of it did St. Joseph know?'³⁵³

Whatever may have been the unconscious motives behind De Foucauld's abandonment of the Rule of St. Benedict, his expressed reason was that he hoped to return to primitive purity.³⁵⁴ Eighteen months later he described the completed Rule as one which did not contain many prescriptions, 'but it is written devoutly, with many quotations from

...the Gospel, and forms a book of piety: I think that a rule should first of all lead to Jesus and speak of Jesus our all and our true good.³⁵⁵

'Apart from some little material details' it was, in his view, a very simple Rule of 'pious recommendations' for living the Nazareth life.³⁵⁶

Few who have studied the Rule or attempted to live it would agree with this assessment, pointing to the fact that it became impractically detailed in places through being finalised before being lived.³⁵⁷ It would be far better, they would say, to follow the normal procedure³⁵⁸ of trying out a provisional rule for a generation or so before deciding on a definitive form. Only in this way could the snags that reveal themselves in experience be recognised.

Yet De Foucauld never amended his own Rule after 1901, although he came to realise that it was a mistake to build a full-size fraternity when he had no companions or prospect of them.³⁵⁹ He also allowed himself some deviations from the Rule if absolutely necessary, but he found this difficult to do. For something he wrote at the time he felt called to leave Nazareth so as to establish a life on the Mount of Beatitudes more in keeping with his Rule, remained perennially true.

I am monastic in my soul and it is impossible for me to live, even for a day, a life which is not regular ³⁶⁰

Later, when looking back on his first three years in the Sahara, De Foucauld considered that he had kept the Rule badly, and proved that 'every time I deviated from it, I took a wrong step, every time I followed it I have done well'.³⁶¹ Keeping the Rule would appear to be a matter of responding to the demands of love within the context and limits of one's vocation. The place of love has been indicated before, and De Foucauld stressed it again during his ordination retreat. Faithful daily observance of the Rule, especially in matters of prayer, humility, and neighbourly love, would lead him, he thought, to growth in love. This, together with progress in knowledge and maturity, would prepare him for his ministry.³⁶²

Once out in the Sahara and beginning to establish himself at Beni-Abbès, De Foucauld found that circumstances forced his contemplative life to become an active one.³⁶³ But he accepted the calls upon his charity with good grace, for 'What does it matter if Jesus wishes it?',³⁶⁴

There were often 60-100 visitors a day to be welcomed, but he still considered that if his friend, Brother Augustin, were allowed to come from Notre-Dame des Neiges to join him, he would be able to lead a regular life.³⁶⁵ The place was equally busy in the autumn, but De Foucauld could say 'My life is always the same: a life according to rule'. He felt that he kept it as well as he could,³⁶⁶ although as he was alone it was impossible to keep it completely. But despite the fact that people knocked on his door every five minutes he maintained an inner peace in all his activity. No doubt a major factor in this was his insistence of his rule of enclosure, except in cases of emergency people came to him, he did not go out to them.

In his annual retreat for 1902 he resolved to live a more regular life, 'for interior piety cannot exist without exterior regularity',³⁶⁷ and to this end he decided to 'follow the timetable very exactly',³⁶⁸ although he immediately added the proviso that when the good of souls required it, changes should be made 'without any scruple, but in an orderly way'. The same connection between faithful observance of the monastic day and regularity was made in the retreat for 1905.

Be extremely faithful to the timetable: this fidelity, part of the monastic virtue of "regularity" is the source of a multitude of good things, preserves one from a multitude of faults, makes one do many acts of numerous virtues.³⁶⁹

In every retreat from 1902-1909 De Foucauld resolved to follow the individual chapters and the Rule as a whole more faithfully and precisely, recognising it (as he explicitly stated in 1909)³⁷⁰ as Jesus' will for him, along with the principle of thinking, speaking and acting as Jesus would in his place.

The years 1904 and 1905 brought challenges to De Foucauld's idea of spending the rest of his life inside the fraternity at Beni-Abbès. At the very moment of completing his annual retreat for 1904 and taking a final resolution to 'Follow very exactly the Rule of life which I have drawn up', he was wondering whether he should leave Beni-Abbès for a trip to the south for the sake of the French soldiers in the outposts who never saw a priest.³⁷¹ After much debate he went. During the journey he asked himself how he should live if he could stay in Touareg country, and decided that it was a matter of following the life of Jesus at Nazareth according to the Rule of the Petits Frères, although the Nazareth life was to have priority.

1905 was very like 1904,³⁷² once again De Foucauld resolved 'to observe, very faithfully, all my life, the rule of the Petits Frères du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus',³⁷³ and once again he went on tour after many hesitations. This time the trip was much shorter, three and a half months instead of a year, and he came to rest at Tamanrasset, where, after a few months, he set out his last and most complete statement of rules for making decisions. There was nothing especially new, but it is interesting to see the form they took. As always, the principle of love stood at the head.

Love. Imitate. Obey. Love and imitate in observing, very faithfully, the Rule of the Petits Frères du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus and all your vows and promises. Obey, in always striving to do Jesus' will, and in conforming yourself in everything to the advice of your director or to his supposed intentions.

The Rule was intended to cover every situation, but in cases where its application seemed obscure, there were four questions to ask oneself.

- (1) What Jesus would have done at Nazareth.
- (2) What you would have recommended to a Petit Frère du Sacré-Coeur.
- (3) What is most profitable for the glory of God, that is to say, for the salvation of souls.
- (4) What your director would advise you.

In short:

Never consider your private interest; always seek the interest of Jesus alone, that is to say the general interest of souls,³⁷⁴

a maxim based on one from the Rule of St. Augustine which he quoted on several occasions:

The more perfect one is, the more one admits the general interest before private interest.³⁷⁵

The four questions and the two conclusions made up a continually widening series of options which moved away all the time from an individual's

personal preferences, and from limitations on matters which might be considered. In one case De Foucauld was not to consider what he himself would do; but what Jesus would do, or what he thought another brother should do, or what his director might advise him to do. In the other case there was a movement from what might be appropriate to undertake at Nazareth, to what should be done for souls generally, to what should be done in the human interest, physical and spiritual.

De Foucauld's openness at this point was reflected in his affirmations during both years that 'I live from day to day',³⁷⁶ and 'without making plans',³⁷⁷ and especially in a letter written soon after the above statement of procedure about the qualities necessary in a prospective companion.

What I'm looking for currently, is not a multitude of souls entering a framework of a fixed life in order to strictly lead a well delineated kind of life. No, what I'm looking for at present is a soul of good will, consenting to share my life in poverty, obscurity, without any fixed rule, following his inclination, as I follow mine. I only desire three things of him: a deep and absolute good will, and a desire to be all for Jesus - joyful acceptance of the most extreme poverty, of all dangers, humiliations and toils-, willingness to follow my advice, not for that which concerns the interior but in that which touches external relations with the world (these, under pain of doing harm instead of good, require experience of the milieu which surrounds me).³⁷⁸

It will be noted that De Foucauld had abandoned the idea of having a fraternity of the size laid down in the Rule, and even of finding a single colleague who would have an identical vocation which would fit into its many provisions. Not that he wouldn't continue to discourage applicants who had a radically different one,³⁸⁰ but the requirements had been simplified³⁸¹ to those of sharing his poverty in an environment characterised by obscurity, danger and hard work, disappointments and rebuffs. For this, all that is really necessary is commitment to Jesus, and so to his work.

Yet besides this flexibility, it must be recognised that the set of questions had a defining and limiting function. The Rule and the first three questions taken together are very much biased towards doing what Jesus would have done on a spiritual level during his life at Nazareth. The fourth question is both a defining and an enlarging one. In one sense Huvelin's advice or veto would allow the Rule to be transcended, as on the occasion when De Foucauld wished his strict rule of enclosure to be modified by allowing journeys not covered in its provisions to be specifically authorised by Huvelin.

On the other hand the combination of a strict rule and a specified relaxation of it give a more limited field of manoeuvre which may feel psychologically safer. The development of De Foucauld's thoughts about monastic enclosure will be traced in the next section, but the point just made can easily be illustrated by what he wrote when considering whether he should leave Beni-Abbès for the 1904 trip round the Hoggar.

I know in advance that Monseigneur Guérin leaves me free;
so it is of you that I ask counsel³⁸²

But, as usual, protestations of obedience must be put side by side with definite plans to do certain things, and combined with the length of time taken by correspondence between the Sahara and Paris to make much of the safety value of such obedience illusory for almost invariably any reply from Huvelin would come too late. Not that Huvelin had much faith in being able to deflect his impetuous charge from something that he had set his mind on. As Dom Louis de Gonzague had realised long before, De Foucauld was

...a perfect specimen of our XIXth century nobility, brave, generous with its blood and its money, on occasions saintly, but incapable of sustained obedience and discipline under a leader³⁸³

On the other hand Huvelin would also come to concur³⁸⁴ with the same writer's opinion that,

He has, I truly believe, made too many great and splendid sacrifices for God to allow him to stray, this is in my view his sole serious guarantee in the extraordinary life he is embarking on...

It would be love, the motive behind these sacrifices and the motive which animated his following of his Rule that would allow him, even when involved in the letter of the law to reach out to its spirit, and even if his meticulous mind constantly tended to attract him to the lower level.

This has been seen in this study of 'regularity', can be found in his nostalgia for enclosure, and will also be noted in his attitude to the eucharist.

Nothing could be dearer to De Foucauld than frequent communion and constant adoration of the blessed Sacrament, but he was able to make them secondary to the needs of others, to such an extent that he could go out to Tamanrasset knowing that he could not say Mass unless special permission was granted him to celebrate alone; a dispensation which did not reach him until February 1908, nearly three years later. But by that time De Foucauld had come to an integration of his life lived in the service of both God and man, as he described in a letter to Guérin of 2 July 1907:

I have often asked myself the question you are posing me: would it be better to stay at Hoggar without being able to celebrate Mass, or to celebrate it and not go there? Being the only priest able to go to Hoggar, while there are many who can celebrate the most Holy Sacrifice, I think it is better in spite of everything to go to Hoggar, leaving to God the problem of giving me a way of saying Mass if it is his will (it has always been possible up till now, by the most varied of means).

Formerly I tended to see on one side the Infinite, the Holy Sacrifice, and on the other the finite, everything apart from God, and was always ready to sacrifice anything to celebrate Holy Mass. But there must have been a mistake in my reasoning here, for from the time of the apostles the greatest saints have in certain circumstances sacrificed the possibility of celebrating to works of spiritual charity, in order to make journeys, and so on.³⁸⁵

Yet this had been a very slow and hesitant development, especially in the matter of leaving his enclosure to make journeys, as will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: NOTES

1 - PROLOGUE : FIVE QUESTIONS IN SEARCH OF AN ANSWER

1. F.F. 197 28.10.1898 (unpublished).
2. cf., pp. 20f, 46-48 supra.
3. De Foucauld did, however, learn from the Ignatian 'election' he made in 1889 before becoming a Trappist a pattern of self-examination. The idea of the Christian life as a battle does appear much later on (cf., IPA 8.2.1908 (IFT, p.260)), but this may have arisen from the situation of holy wars being waged in the Sahara, or be an echo of a passage from a letter of Teresa of Avila (cf., p. 246 infra.) Seeing that De Foucauld was not apparently aware of the source of the motto Ad Maiorem Gloriam Dei (cf., IDM c 2.2.1892 (IFT, p.71)), it seems that he had no conscious recollection of reading St. Ignatius. Certainly the latter's characterisation of 'Nazareth' as the symbol of the life of the ordinary Christian lived according to Jesus' precepts (cf., pp.112-114 supra) had no place in De Foucauld's thought.
4. cf., the quotations noted in 1898-LAH 22.10.1898 (p.98) - (F.F. 286, Nos. 189, 193-5) and copied out again in 1900-1 (F.F. 343, nos. 43-46): 'Love always tends towards two objects: towards the good which one wishes to obtain for someone and towards him to whom one wishes good, for to love someone is properly to wish him some good' (1 Qu 20.a.1, cf., a.2 and a.3, also quoted). 'He who loves comes out of himself and transfers his life to the loved being, in this, that he wishes good for the loved being and that he tries to obtain his advantage like his own' (1 Qu 20.a.2).
5. cf., Loisy's assessment (Mémoires 1.286), reflected in Huvelin's comment to Von Hügel in May 1886 that scholastics using esoteric language and dissecting life like a corpse should be passed by with a gentle smile at their blindness. (Maxim 6, in F. Von Hügel, Selected Letters (London: Dent 1933², pp.58-63). This would perhaps explain why De Foucauld was told not to linger at the Gregorian University in Rome (LAH* 13.9.1900 (p.183)). Huvelin had studied there himself, and no doubt found that as the staff were not enthusiastic lecturers of the Thomism decreed by Leo XIII in 1879 (cf., A. Kerkvooide and O. Rousseau, Le Mouvement Théologique dans le monde Contemporaine (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969, pp.147ff.), that their presentation was dry and unhelpful.
6. cf., pp.294f. infra.

7. Partly through finding that at least some kinds of study enriched his prayer life (cf., p. 294 infra), and partly through deciding to go forward for ordination. For De Foucauld always considered that priests should have a good theological education. cf., his unvarying advice to Jérôme (LPJ 29.11.1896, 28.12.1897, 15.2.1898, 21.6.1898, 8.3.1900 (LFT, pp. 108, 128, 137, 145, 172), the requirements of the 1899 Rule, Article 18 (OS, p.424), and the Directoire, Article 19 (D, pp.61f).
8. It is said that De Foucauld had two sets of Aquinas' works in the Sahara. One of which had never had the pages cut, the other marked on every page. Whatever may be the bearing of this on De Foucauld's interest in Aquinas - no other written extracts survive to illuminate the matter, except for a passing reference to Augustine, Chrysostom, and Aquinas as suitable theologians to study (F.F. 200, Med. 21 on faith, c. September 1897 (01-IV.1, 105)). Later, Henry de Castries was praised for his knowledge of the scholastics, but told that light came through prayer and discipleship (IHC 14.8.1901 (pp.100f.)), and asked if he also knew the mystics, especially St. John of the Cross (IHC 13.7.1903 (p.143)). However, copies of the Summa Theologiae and the Summa Contra Gentiles were asked for at the beginning of 1908 (B, p.265); and the Doctor became prescribed reading in 1909 (D, p.62), the change in attitude perhaps dating from the time Huvelin was asked if half-an-hour's reading a day would be helpful. (IAH 6.4.1906 (p.254)).
9. Comtesse De Flavigny, Sainte Catherine de Sienne (Paris: Sauton, 1880), quotations from revised edition published by Mignard, 1895).
10. Comtesse De Flavigny, Une Fille de France: La Bienheureuse Jehanne (Paris: Lecoffre, 1896).
11. In F.F. 345, undated, c. 1896-9.
12. cf., p.191 supra. De Foucauld embraced the monastic interpretation, and kept martyrdom in view both in his situation (from the time of the massacre of the Armenian Christians in 1896 (cf., IMB 24.6.1896 (p.59)), to the daily possibility of death in the Sahara when away from the safety of Beni-Abbès), and in his daily reading of the Breviary or the lives of the saints. Extracts and meditations from which were made in the Holy Land years (cf., F.F. 197 and F.F. 343), the books remaining prescribed reading thereafter (cf., F.F. 235, Rule: Chapter 17 (unpublished), Directoire, Article 17 (D, p.58)).
13. cf., Appendix A.
14. For general outlines of the spirituality of the period cf., Latourette, K.S., Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, 1 (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970) 355-70; Rayez, A., 'France - de la Revolution au debut du XX siecle', DSP V cols. 953-97. On eucharistic devotion, cf., Lecanuet, E., L'Eglise de France sous la 3^e République, I (Paris: Alcan, 1910, 1931) 121-65.

15. For general assessments of devotion to the Heart of Jesus, cf., works noted above and Hamon, A., 'Coeur (Sacré)', DSP, 11 cols. 1023-46. De Foucauld's own interpretation, mainly transmitted to him through Mme de Bondy (cf., IS, pp.90-2) was one of faith in God's love, rather than of concern to make reparation for His offended justice (cf., IS, p.344, note 65).
16. cf., pp.259f infra, and notes 183-5.
17. cf., pp.225-262 infra, and Appendix B.
18. cf., p.263 infra, and Appendix C.
19. It may be suggested that Huvelin recommended Chrysostom (IAH* 13.7.1897, 16.9.1897 (pp. 50, 53)) as a theologian of wide interests who would be congenial to De Foucauld since he taught by reference to examples (cf., pp.98f supra), although his specific teaching on the Imitatio Christi does not appear to have registered. Indeed, whilst De Foucauld read Chrysostom more thoroughly than anyone apart from Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross (cf., IAH 8.3.1898 (p.82)), made long extracts from his works (F.F. 332), - there is also part of an earlier Latin compilation (F.F. 337) - and prescribed them in the Rule and Directoire (D, p.62), specific references or quotations are almost entirely absent from letters or writings, although echoes of Chrysostom's thought may be followed in the meditations on St. Matthew (F.F. 199) and the Psalms (F.F. 209) 'line by line' (IS, p.202, n.45).
20. cf., Von Hügel's testimony, Essays and Addresses, 2 (London: Dent, 1926), pp.94, 241. Letters from Baron Friedrich von Hügel to a Niece (London: Dent, 1928), p.XXIV.
21. F.F. 286, Note 14 (OS, p.328), c end of June 1897.
22. Ibid. (unpublished). cf., F.F.200, Med. 21 on faith (01-IV.1, 103ff.), c end of September 1887, where the lives of the saints were held to be 'also a kind of commentary on the Gospels, less sure than the others, for the saints have been able to be very perfect through their fidelity to grace, without having great minds which make the truth appear clearly, but there are always some very good teachings to receive from them and the Holy Spirit which guides them does not let them deceive themselves in important things... the Church which has canonised them, has judged the general effect of the example they have left, conforms to the holy Gospel and it is so that they should serve as models that she has canonised them.
23. F.F. 218, 9.11.1897 (01-IX.1, 110); cf., ibid, 91.
24. F.F. 197 begun 31.10.1897.
25. IS, p.213.

26. They finished 31.10.1898.
27. F.F. 216 cf., IS, p.211 note 81.
28. F.F. 216 unpublished except for last sentence (OS, p.69), contrasting with earlier, unqualified approval, cf., LPJ 29.11.1896 (LFT, p.108).
29. F.F. 201 (01-VII, 17f).
30. F.F. 216 Genesis 27.1-22 (OS, pp.70f), repeated for meditation on Genesis 32.22f.
31. cf., also F.F. 198, Meds. 377 (unpublished), 398 (OS, p.203), c October 1898 if one meditation written daily (cf., IS, p.211 n. 82, and following note). De Foucauld would add the Virgin Mary as a perfect model, cf., F.F. 201, Med. 176 (01-VII, 77).
32. F.F. 198, Med. 478 (OS, p.93) c 7.1.1899 on above assumption. But if ink colour links it with F.F. 197 (suggested in Cravetto's inventory of the Fonds Foucauld), it would be c 4.10.1898.
33. cf., p.217 supra.
34. cf., p.235 infra.
35. cf., F.F. 197 28.8.1898 (unpublished) ...it is you St. Augustine, who with St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, both resting on your words, who has so forcibly involved me in seeking God in myself...
36. De Foucauld did not receive his own copies of Augustine's soliloquies, meditations and manual until 1899 (IMB 8.5.1899 (p.76)), but had expressed identification with the saint's conversion experience (letter to Louis de Foucauld 23.6.1895 (C, p.158), recommended his writings in 1897 (cf., note 8), and made the Rule of St. Augustine the basis of his own in October 1898 (cf., pp.292ff infra), whilst the Saharan years saw the quotation (cf., note 375) of the maxim 'The more perfect one is, the more one admits the general interest before private interest'.
37. F.F. 198, Med. 500 Jn 16.28-33 (NES pp.162-5), c end of March 1899 (IS, p.211 note 82), speaks of contemplating Christ in the soul. De Foucauld had, however, thought of Christ being present there before, cf., F.F. 218, 7.11.1897 (01-IX.1, 87f).
38. cf., F.F. 197 28.8.1898 (unpublished part).
39. F.F. 197 28.8.1898 (NES, p.230).
40. Ibid. (NES, p.232).
41. cf., p. 215 supra.

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FRIEND AND GUIDE ALONG THE WAY

CONSTANT COMPANION...

42. LAH 15.10.1898 (p.89) (SPA, pp.113f).
43. cf., LAH 30.10.1890 (p.3).
44. cf., note 42.
45. cf., LAH 15.10.1898 (p.95) referring to both, LMB 13.10.1909 (OS, p.717), 15.8.1911 (LMB, p.200), to Huvelin as 'Father' (besides LAH continually), and LMB 26.4.1909, 24.7.1911, 21.9.1912 (OS, pp.716, 720f.), to Mme de Bondy as 'Mother'.
46. LDM 10.4.1900 (LFT, p.174).
47. De Foucauld's contacts with women were limited, but his attraction to the same type is expressed in his interest in the women leaders of Touareg society. News of an un-named protectress of the survivors of the Flatters Mission Massacre (18.2.1881), prompted a desire to visit and thank her and ask for her prayers in return (Letter of 21.6.1903, B, p.200). Whilst in 1914, aware of the importance of female influence among the Touareg, De Foucauld arranged a meeting between French officers and the wives of the Touareg aristocracy (O. Meynier 'Rencontres trois grandes figures Sahariennes' CCF 2, 87-112, cf., B, pp.317f.).
48. cf., LMB 20.9.1889, 7.4.1900, 20.9.1900, 5.4.1905 (IS, pp.91f).
49. cf., LAH 15.10.1898 (pp.87-95).
50. cf., p.230 infra, and note 75.
51. cf., IS, pp.114-123, 147-152.
52. cf., Teresa of Avila, Book of the Foundations, 17 (IS, pp.151f).
53. cf., Teresa of Avila, Life 30, 35 (IS, p.150), and note 77.
54. Foundations, 17 (IS, pp.151f).
- 54a LPJ 8.5.1899 (LFT, p.157), cf., Foundations, 12.
55. LDM 10.4.1900 (LFT, p.174).
56. LMB 20.9.1889 (IS, p.115).
57. LDM 11.4.1891 (LFT, p.51).

58. Mme de Bondy to Dom Martin 15.10.1891, 10.11.1891 (IFT, pp.51, 67), LDM c.2.2.1892 (IFT, p.70), cf., IS, p.115 n.32.
59. LPE 8.6.1892 (IFT, p.74).
60. LAH 6.4.1906 (p.254).
61. F.F. 327, text in P. Lesourd, La Vraie Figure du Père de Foucauld (Paris: Flammarion, 1933), p.254, and prescribed for the Petits Frères, F.F. 235, ch.17.
62. cf., note 60.
63. LMB 15.2.1890 (p.29).
64. LPE 8.6.1892 (IFT, p.74), LDM 12.9.1892 (IFT, p.80).
65. cf., LAH 10.6.1903, 9.2.1908, 4.12.1909 (pp.211,284,291).
66. LAH 8.3.1898 (p.82).
67. LAH 22.3.1900 (p.121).
68. cf., the brief extracts from various authors (F.F. 343), and summaries from standard textbooks (F.F. 317-320.4).
69. To which should be added the single work of Causade: L'Abandon à la Providence Divine, Ramière's abridged edition (Paris: Lecoffre, 1894¹⁰). Read 1897-9, summarised twice (F.F. 341.1, 342), recommended (LPJ 8.5.1899 (IFT, p.157)) prescribed in 1899 Rule (F.F. 235, ch.17) and 1909-13 Directoire, Article 115 (D, p.54).
70. Unclassified - original lost? (01-X, 230), for 1902 cf., IMG 30.9.1902 (OS, p.685).
71. LMB 20.9.1888 (p.22).
72. LMB 16 and 19.1.1890, according to Six (IS, p.122).
73. cf., quotations in LPE 17.1.1891, 10.4.1891, LDM 10.4.1891 (IFT, pp.44,49,50).
74. LDM 11.4.1891 (IFT, p.50).
75. LPE 8.6.1892 (IFT, p.74), cf., LDM 12.9.1892 (IFT, p.80).
76. LPJ 24.1.1897 (IFT, p.117).
77. F.F. 215, Med. on Gen 26.23f.
78. F.F. 200 Med. 117 (01-IV.2, 118).
79. F.F. 204.

80. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 35, 164).
81. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 39 cf., 170).
82. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 160), cf., 1909-13 Directoire Article 5 (D, p.43).
83. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 173).
84. F.F. 204, Mt 6.7 (C, p.10).
85. F.F. 204, Mt 6.10 (C, p.16), cf., F.F. 200 Med.1 (01-IV.1, 39), IC 5.2.
86. F.F. 204, Mt 6.33 (C, p.21); F.F. 200, Med. 10 on faith (01-IV.1, 91); Way of Perfection, 34 (PW, 2.143-6).
87. F.F. 204, Mt 7.8 (C, p.25), cf., F.F. 200 Med. 83 on hope (01-IV.1, 248), Life, 39 (PW, 1.279).
88. F.F. 204, Mt 9.38 (C, p.29).
89. F.F. 204, Mt 9.22 (C, p.121), Life, 40.1.
90. F.F. 204, Mk 16.14 (C, p.141).
91. F.F. 204, Lk 7.9 (C, p.144), quoted in LPE 12.9.1892 (LFT, p.81).
92. cf., LPE 10.4.1891, LDM 11.4.1891, LPE 12.9.1892, LPJ 12.9.1899 (LFT, pp.49f,81,159).
93. cf., LPE 17.1.1891, LPJ 29.11.1896, 24.1.1897, 28.1.1898, 15.2.1898 (LFT, pp.44,110,114,130,134,136).
94. LMB 4.10.1893 (p.47).
95. Apart from the 1899 Rule, whose prescriptions for a 20-30 strong community were a regression to the Trappist pattern.
96. Teresa of Avila, Life, 31, IC, 6.4.
97. F.F. 224 26.4.1900 (01-IX.2, 149) and LAH 16.5.1900 (pp.160f).
98. F.F. 343, Note 14.
99. IMG 1.6.1908 (IS, p.343).
100. F.F. 202 (01-VII, 127-237).
101. F.F. 205.
102. Ibid., partially quoted in IS, pp.312f.

- 103. F.F. 266 (OS, pp.366, 385).
- 104. PW, 3.288.
- 105. OS, pp.583-95 (SPA, pp.37-44).
- 106. F.F. 197 15.10.1898 (OS, pp.319f) (SPA, pp.112f).

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- 107. F.F. 335.
- 108. F.F. 336.
- 109. cf., F.F. 286, extract 68 from letter of 30.5.1582 to Mother Anne of Jesus (Bouix, Lettres, 3.436).
- 110. cf., F.F. 230 (Ol-X, 104).
- 111. Appendix B.

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- 112. F.F. 339.
- 113. F.F. 346.
- 114. cf., note 109.
- 115. cf., Appendix B.
- 116. cf., p. 196 supra.
- 117. cf., p. 381 infra.
- 118. Teresa's concern for the sick was noted in the 1896 Rule (F.F. 253, TPF, p.142), and detailed instructions for their care given in 1899 (F.F. 235, ch.40, Pottier, pp.280f).
- 119. cf., p. 286 infra.
- 120. Eight marginal marks.
- 121. Seven marginal marks.
- 122. cf., F.F. 235, Ch. 23 (OS, pp.451f), cf., F.F. 297 (unpublished).
- 123. F.F. 235, Ch. 38 (unpublished section), cf., Preliminary Ch. (TPF, pp.397f) on each fraternity's direct responsibility to Rome alone.

- 124. cf., pp. 401-4 infra.
- 125. cf., LAH 30.10.1890 (p.6).
- 126. LMB 9.8.1895 (LAH, p.35).
- 127. F.F. 293, text in Charles De Foucauld intime (Paris: La Colombe, 1952).
- 128. cf., p. 385 infra.
- 129. LAH 15.12.1890 (p.8).
- 130. LAH* 16.10.1897, 28.5.1898 (pp.54,84).
- 131. F.F. 235, ch.19 (unpublished).
- 132. PW, 1.336.
- 133. LDM 10.4.1900 (LFT, p.174).

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- 134. PW, 1.352f.
- 135. PW, 1.344.
- 136. PW, 2.398.
- 137. LAH 3.3.1898 (pp.71-7).
- 138. LAH* 16.3.1898, 28.5.1898, 26.8.1898, 15.10.1898, 30.12.1898, 8.2.1899, 13.3.1899, 27.4.1899, 30.5.1899, 18.7.1899, 4.5.1900 (pp.82f, 85, 87, 99, 105, 108, 110, 113f, 141).
- 139. cf., pp. 334f infra.
- 140. IC, 5.3 (PW, 2.261).
- 141. Life, 11 (PW, 1.67f).
- 142. Life, 15 (PW, 1.94).
- 143. A theme of Life, 4, 9 also.
- 144. Life, 22 (PW, 1.139).
- 145. Life, 22 (PW, 1.141).
- 146. cf., p.9 supra.

147. Life, 22 (PW, 1.143), cf., LPJ 24.1.1897 (LFT, p.117).
148. Ibid.
149. Life, 27 (PW, 1.175).
150. Ibid. (French text, cf., PW, 1.175f).
151. Ibid. (French text, cf., PW, 1.176).
152. Ibid.
153. Life, 31 (French text, cf., PW, 1.213).
154. Life, 35 (PW, 1.243). cf., the support of Peter of Alcantara, Life, 33 and p. 226 supra.
155. Life, 35 (French text, cf., PW, 1.247).
156. cf., p. 232 supra.
157. cf., letter 193, p.241 supra.
158. Life, 36 (PW, 1.253, 258).
159. cf., p. 247 supra.
160. Spiritual Relation 11 (PW, 1.339).
161. cf., p. 222 supra, and notes 38, 39.
162. cf., pp.405, 445 (note 326), 460 infra.
163. Way of Perfection, 42 (French text Chap. 43, cf., PW, 2.112).
164. cf., note 72, and LDM c.2.2.1892 (LFT, pp.70f).
165. IC, 5.3 (PW, 2.260), nine marginal marks.
166. Underlined four times in original, rest of extract from IC, 5.2 (PW, 2.254) underlined once. Five (instead of three) marginal marks against first sentence.
167. Underlined twice in original, rest of extract from Ibid. (PW, 2.257) underlined once. Eight (instead of six) marginal marks against final sentence.
168. Eight marginal marks against this sentence, four against the next, and one against clause beginning 'seeing the evil....'. Extract from IC, 5.3 (PW, 2.261f).
169. Five marginal marks against this sentence from Ibid. (PW, 2.263).

170. IC, 5.4 (PW, 2.267) cf., IC, 7.4 (PW, 2.346), four to eight marginal marks against extracts.
171. IC, 7.4 (PW, 2.347).
172. IC, 7.2 (PW, 2.336), this phrase underlined twice (with three marginal marks), the rest once.
173. cf., LAH 30.12.1903 (p.215).
After 17 years of graces I have to be converted as on the first day...differently, but perhaps with more difficulty..., you, through whom the good God has made the first conversion, pray that he will make the second!
De Foucauld felt that it was because he was not converted or sanctified that he did not have any companions (LAH 15.12.1902 (p.206)), indeed, that it was because of his unworthiness that Dom Martin would not send him any (LDM 15.5.1902 (LFT, pp. 231f)). So both Dom Martin and Huvelin were asked to pray for De Foucauld's conversion. Cf., LDM 23.3.1903 (LFT, p.246), LAH 10.6.1903, 25.10.1904, 17.12.1904, 31.1.1905, 15.7.1906 (pp.211,224,226,230,262).
174. cf., Chapter Five infra.
175. cf., p. 301 infra.
176. PW, 3.277f.
- 178. IC, 7.3 (PW, 2.343).
179. cf., p. 245 supra.
180. F.F. 235 (Pottier, p.283).
181. F.F. 245-252 (D, pp.109f).
182. LMB 20.7.1914 (p.229) (SPG, p.64).
183. cf., Appendix D.
184. F.F. 238 (unpublished).
185. F.F. 286 Notes 40-44,46, (unpublished).* There was also a long extract from Francis' will, Note 53.
186. F.F.343 Note 11, quoted again in F.F. 344 Note 9 (c. November 1904).
187. De Foucauld did make a few extracts from a biography on the general principle of the imitatio Christi, and specific aspects of poverty, faith and charity. He also copied out a long paragraph enumerating all the virtues of St. John, word for word except for one sentence which De Foucauld didn't accept as applying to himself: 'He helped confessors and priests in their ministry'. However, these quotations formed only eleven pages of the 479 copied out from the complete works during its first reading. cf., Appendix C.

188. Quotations were almost completely restricted to two maxims:
 'It was at the moment of his most complete abasement that our Lord saved the world', quoted in IMG 27.2.1905 (ES, pp.229f), IMB 8.3.1908 (pp.167f), 23.3.1916 (OS, p.728), 1.12.1916 (p.251f).
 'We should not measure our labours by our weakness, but our efforts by our tasks' quoted in the Directoire Article 38 (D, pp.105, 107), and subsequently in LAC 9.6.1903 (SPA, p.182), IHC 29.5.1909 (p.183).

189. De Foucauld noted the injunction that one should always return to devotion to the humanity of Christ when God does not lift one beyond it (Ascent 2.32, Dark Night 1.10) and seems to have maintained this attitude to discursive meditation. cf., LPJ 15.2.1898 (LFT, p.141) (ID, p.62) "...when God impels me to move on from reading to prayer I follow this movement. If prayer flags then I return to the book..."

190. cf., Appendix C, and note 193.

191. cf., A. de L'Annonciation 'Charles De Foucauld et nous' Carmel (1966) pp.257-69 on the echoes in De Foucauld's published writings.

192. cf., heavily marked quotations from Ascent of Mount Carmel 2.22 (particularly), 2.26, 2.30. in F.F.333-4.

3 - THE CONTEXT OF IMITATION

ORIGINS

193. cf., Ascent 1.13 quoted and underlined:
 'The first thing for you to do is to stir up in yourself a habitual and loving desire to imitate Jesus Christ in all things, in conforming yourself to his life, which you should study and contemplate in order to be able to imitate it and conduct yourself on all occasions as he would himself'.
 The call to imitate our 'humiliated and crucified Lord' comes from Letter 17 (to Mother Anne of Jesus 6.7.1591) or the Maxim quoting it. Considering the verbal similarity, it would seem that De Foucauld knew one of these sources in 1892 (cf., LDM c2.2.1892 LFT, p.70), although there is no other evidence of knowledge of St. John of the Cross at this early date.
194. Ascent, 1.11, 2.5, cf., quotations from De Foucauld identified in notes 202, 208.
195. Ascent, 2.5, 7; Dark Night, 2.13; cf., quotations identified in notes 211, 212.
196. Ascent, 1.6, 11. cf., 40 meditations on the subject 'Tout Faire en Vue de Dieu Seul', F.F. 200 (01-IV.1, 38-77).
197. Ascent, 2.5, cf., F.F. 200 (01-IV.1, 102).
198. Ascent, 3.1.
199. Spiritual Cantic 8 (also quoted in F.F. 286 Note 94).
200. Spiritual Cantic, 12.
201. Spiritual Cantic, 22. Phrase used in LHC 14.8.1901 (p.93).
202. LPJ 24.1.1897 (LFT, p.113) (ID, p.49).
203. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 164-8).
204. Ibid (01-IX.1, 195).
205. F.F. 201 Med. 176, cf., 200 (01-VII, 77, 95).
206. Ibid, Med. 176 (01-VII, 78).
207. Ibid, Med. 220 (01-VII, 95).
208. Ibid, (01-VII, 97).
209. F.F. 198, Med. 343 Lk 10.25-37 (unpublished).

210. LPJ 9.9.1898 (LFT, p.147).
211. F.F. 198, Med. 342 Lk 10.18-24 (unpublished).
212. Ibid, Med. 264 Lk 2.21 (OS, p.204), underlinings as in certified copy of original. cf., Med. 484 Lk 14.2-6 (unpublished) defining imitation as an inferior, incomplete, first degree of unification, but the only one possible on earth.
213. F.F. 198, Med. 460 Jn 8.12 (unpublished).
214. Ibid.
215. F.F. 198, Med. 491 Jn 14.31ff (unpublished).
216. F.F. 198, Med. 524 Jn 21.18-25 (OS, p.205).
217. Ibid.
218. cf., F.F. 198, Med. 484 Jn 14.2-6 (unpublished).
219. cf., F.F. 198, Med. 484 14.2-6 (unpublished).
220. cf., note 218.
221. cf., pp. 218-21 supra.
222. F.F. 223 (01-IX, 11, 15).
223. cf., note 37.
224. Ibid.
225. cf., note 38.
226. cf., F.F. 202 (01-VII, 127-237), a model for F.F. 223 (01-IX.11, 10-127).
227. De Foucauld recorded that his personal note-book (F.F. 293, cf., note 127), cross, and chapelet had touched certain holy spots in Rome (1896, 1900) and the Holy Land (1897), a church in Milan and the house of the Holy Family at Loretto (1900), as well as the 'Sainte-Baume' cave of St. Mary Magdelene in Provence (1900). Pilgrimages to her shrine were also made in 1901 (cf., TPF, p.149; LPJ 8.9.1901 (LFT, p.198)) and 1913 (14 June, cf., TPF, p.287), time-table difficulties making it impossible in 1909 (TPF, p.252).
228. cf., p. 358 infra.

4 - PERSPECTIVES ON JESUS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

229. F.F. 223 (01-IX.2, 37).
230. LPE 10.4.1891 (LFT, p.47).
231. LMB 12.1.1891 (OS, p.698).
232. LPE 8.6.1892 (LFT, p.74).
233. The idea of writing meditations may have come from De Foucauld's cousin, but it was Huvelin who suggested that he make it a regular practice after the 1896 meditations undertaken in Rome were cut short by his leaving the Trappist Order. De Foucauld did not intend to begin them again, but when he settled in Nazareth and found it impossible to pray, he accepted Huvelin's advice that they would help him in this situation.

Some three-quarters of all De Foucauld's extant meditations date from 1897-1900, but there were others before 1898 which he destroyed. cf., IS, pp.205f, quoting LAH* 24.5.1897 (p.48), LMB 15.2.1898 (p.73); cf., also, LPJ 15.2.1898 (LFT, p.133).
234. IM 22.7.1914 (D, p.134); cf., SPG, p.39). Meditation was also recommended to Henry de Castries as a guide to action, which (along with prayer and the advice of a good spiritual director) would lead him to regain his faith; cf., LHC 14.8.1901 (pp.99f).
235. F.F. 235, constitutions, Article 12 (OS, p.423).
236. Thus following the 1900 revision of F.F. 202 (01-VII, 127-237). The earlier version, clearly visible in the ms., and published as La Vie de Jésus (Grenoble-Paris: Arthaud, 1948); differed in that the liturgical calendar was followed until Pentecost, thus omitting consideration of the eucharist and celebration of the month of the Sacred Heart, and beginning meditation on the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth on Trinity Sunday, instead of 1 July.
237. F.F. 235, Ch. 12 (unpublished). These five months were also for meditation on the 'hidden life', cf., note 236.
238. cf., 1902 Retreat resolutions, F.F. 230 (01-X, 104).
239. cf., resolutions of retreats for 1902, 1904, 1905 (01-X, 92, 128, 169), with a minor change in the undated resolutions (1909?) from reading chapters of the Old Testament and the New Testament apart from the Gospels, to spending fifteen minutes daily on them (01-X, 229). Meditations in fulfilment of such resolutions exist for the end of 1901 (F.F. 207), only two meditations on Mt 1 - a good intention swamped by other activity?), a fragment

from the end of 1903 (F.F. 208, meditations 907-23 on Lk 4.31-6.49) which may represent De Foucauld's fulfilment of his obligation as prior. These also survive 19 brief meditations for 1914-15 based on a harmony of the Gospels (F.F. 206) and very short daily notes for 1916 on the Gospel, the De Imitatione, and the lives of the saints (F.F. 287). The only other meditations of the Saharan years are those of 1905 (F.F. 205), based on the liturgical calendar and very similar to the so-called Ephrem retreat of 1898 (F.F. 223).

240. Even though the sections on Mt are missing in two of the longest sets of meditations on the four Gospels (F.F. 198, F.F. 208); quotation or reference to Mt overall is twice that to Lk and Jn, three-and-a-half that to Mk.
241. F.F. 198, Med. 495 Jn 15.15f. (NES, p.158), cf., Med. 441 Jn 5.25ff. (unpublished).
242. F.F. 200 (01-IV, 1 and 2).
243. F.F. 204.
244. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 29-235).
245. F.F. 283, Le Modèle Unique (Edition published 1935), F.F. 284, Notre Tendre Sauveur (OS, pp.96-124), and Notre Modèle (D, pp.19-38).
Minor differences in content (Notre Modèle has 14 verses not in F.F. 283, and omits six verses or part verses found there) but interesting alterations in the order the sections were arranged, cf., Appendix E.
246. LAH 20.4.1906 (p.257).
247. cf., Chapters 7 and 3 (Pottier, pp.266-68, 261-65).
248. F.F. 212.
249. F.F. 201 (01-VII, 15-126).
250. cf., F.F. 198 and 199 (regularly); F.F. 223 (14-21 March 1898).
251. cf., F.F. 209 (on Psalms 1-116, begun Pentecost 1897), F.F. 216 (up to Exodus 25, begun F.F. 215, 19.5.1898), a renewal of the meditations begun in November 1896 but broken off at Genesis 39 in January 1897 when De Foucauld's dispensation from his Trappist vows was given (OS, p.206). There also exist undated compilations of extracts from the Old Testament, F.F. 210 (from the Psalms and Genesis-Ecclesiasticus) and F.F. 211 (preparatory work for the rest of the Old Testament).

252. Percentages based on the length of the summary resolutions (01-IX.1, 203-27). In earlier discussion courage, prayer, humility, chastity and retreat came between penance and abjection.
253. Percentages based on the number of resolutions, which, allowing for meditations indexed under more than one heading total 336. The 6% not mentioned are those which refer to imitation by itself (11), or in conjunction with the other topics (9).
254. About 65% of the meditation was devoted to the first topic. cf., 0-IX.1, 124-139).
255. F.F. 201, Med. 170 Lk 6.35 (01-VII, 75).
256. Some 44 quotations may be found in F.F. 200 alone, and at least ten in other meditations.
257. cf., IM 1.8.1916 (OS, p.778).
258. Mitigated to the extent that passages were considered under more than one topic.
259. F.F. 200 meditations 30, 31-33, 55f, 58, 65, 97f, etc (01-IV.2, 48-50, 63, 65, 72, 101f.)
Likewise, the commands to preach and teach were to be interpreted within the context of vocation, cf., meditations 99, 105, 106 (01-IV.2, 103, 105, 108). On fasting, cf., F.F. 223 (01-IX.2, 35).
260. F.F. 201, Med. 198 Lk 10.4, cf., 44 Mt 10.9f (01-VII, 85, 34f); cf., F.F. 198, Med. 321 Lk 9.1-3 (unpublished).
261. '...the hidden life of Jesus, a life of humility, abjection, poverty, labour, obscurity, retreat, submission, prayer, penance...' F.F. 218 (01-IV.1, 63).
262. Ibid., (01-IV.1, 231).
263. F.F. 215, 1896, Gen 14.1-12 (OS, p.59).
264. F.F. 200, Med. 114 on charity (01-IX.2, 113f).
265. F.F. 199 (NES, pp.14-19).
266. The tradition that she retired to a cave in Provence is also mentioned by St. John of the Cross Spiritual Canticle, 28.
267. F.F. 218, 9.11.1897 (01-IX.1, 129).
268. As the woman who anointed Jesus with perfume (cf., note 269), at the Ephrem retreat held (according to tradition, cf., F.F. 223 and F.F. 205) before the Passion (F.F. 197, 12.3.1898 (NES, pp.134f), and at the Cross (F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 206).

269. Not that De Foucauld was sentimental. Jsus' defence of the woman who annointed him and cleansing of the temple (F.F. 200, Meds. 16 and 141 on Charity (01-IV.2, 35, 140) were also noted in the Holy Land years, and became the basis for De Foucauld's opposition to slavery later on; cf., pp. 411-16 infra.
270. F.F. 204 Mt 18.20 on prayer (C, pp.37f).
271. So although the virtues taught by Magdelene were extended from spiritual and material poverty, solitude, mortification and contemplation (F.F. 197 22.7.1898 (NES, pp.227-9)), to include 'charity' and 'zeal for souls' in 1905 (F.F. 205 (OS, p.237); De Foucauld retained a longing for the solitude of the 'Sainte Baume' (cf., note 227) and described Tamanrasset in those terms. cf., LMB 21.1.1904 (p.124), LAH 15.7.1906 (p.262), IM 5.4.1909 (OS, p.767).
272. Apart from a mention of both Marys living after the resurrection as exiles on earth waiting to be re-united with Jesus (LPE 11.4.1893 (LFT, p.90)), Magdelene entered De Foucauld's thinking with the 1896 Rule. Devotion to the Virgin began with the spiritual crisis of late 1893 (IS, pp. 153f). Mary and Joseph were thought of together before this (cf., LAH 22.9.1893 (p.32)), but Joseph had no separate existence, apart from a mention of his self-effacing vocation (LAH 3.3.1898, (p.75)), and his gentleness (F.F. 207 c 15.11.1901 (unpublished)).
273. Temporary Rule, Epiphany 1899; Revue Ascétique 141 (1960) 73.
274. LPJ 15.2.1898 (LFT, p.141), cf., F.F. 198, Med. 429 Jn 1.37ff, mid-September 1898? (unpublished).
275. cf., p. 451 infra.
276. LPJ 8.11.1896 (LFT 105f).
277. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 137-9).
278. LAH 8.3.1898 (p.81).
279. F.F. 214.
280. F.F. 198, Med. 198 Mk 6.1-6; F.F. 209, Ps 10.5ff.
281. F.F. 198, Med. 198.
282. F.F. 209, Ps 10.5ff.

283. F.F. 198, Med. 331 Lk 9.44f (unpublished). Romans 8.28 quoted: F.F. 219, 11.11.1897 (01-IX.1, 171); F.F. 200, Med. 33 on faith, Mk 4.40 (01-IV.1, 122), Med. 195 on charity; Lk 6.35 (01-IV.2, 183); F.F. 201, Meds. 24 and 202 (01-VII, 27, 87), F.F. 224, 26.4.1900 (01-IX.2, 133); F.F. 344, 1904 (unpublished).
284. F.F. 227 (01-X, 53-68), accompanied by extracts from the rest of the New Testament and most of the Song of Songs.
285. F.F. 217 (unpublished).
286. cf., diary entry 15.10.1902 (OS, pp.341-3). A cell was also named after St. Peter, who was a model of faith in his response to Jesus' call; cf., LAH 30.5.1900 (p.140).
287. F.F. 344, 1904 (unpublished), IMG 21.11.1907, 1.1.1908 (IS, pp.333f), LMB 20.5.1916 (IS, p.362).
288. IMG 27.2.1903, arguing that as spiritual things were spiritually discerned, an officer's report on De Foucauld's health should not be taken at face value (NES, pp.179f).
289. cf., pp. 455f infra.

5 - THE 'NAZARETH' LIFE:
FOUNDATION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

- 290. cf., Appendix A.
- 291. cf., LAH* 2.8.1896 (p.40), 27.1.1897 (p.43), 16.9.1897 (p.53), 1.1.1898 (p.57).
- 292. LAH* 18.9.1905 (p.239).
- 293. To Comte Louis De Foucauld, 12.4.1897 (B, p.110).

THE THREE LIVES

- 294. F.F. 215, Genesis 22.13ff (IS, pp.188f).
- 295. F.F. 199 Mt 2.14-23 (IS, p.223). Six suggests in his helpful analysis of De Foucauld's thinking at this point (IS, pp.220-5) that the change followed from the act of abandonment to God's will of January 1897, cf., p. 194 supra.
- 296. cf., F.F. 197 28.8.1898 (NES, p.232) and note following.
- 297. LPJ 19.5.1898 (LFT, pp.142-4). Six dates this letter (headed 'Monday after Ascension') 31.5.1897 (IS, p.224 .148); but the 1898 date is supported by F.F. 197 and F.F. 201.
- 298. F.F. 218, 12.11.1897 (01-IX.1, 192-4).
- 299. LAH 22.10.1898 (pp.97f). (SPA, p.121).
- 300. F.F. 225.2 (01-X, 38-47).
- 301. F.F. 226 (01-X, 49).
- 302. Ibid., (01-X, 50).
- 303. F.F. 228 (01-X, 80, 83).

INWARD AND OUTWARD IMITATION

- 304. cf., F.F. 200, Med. 146 on charity (01-IV.2, 144).
- 305. cf., F.F. 200, Meds. 17 on doing everything for God's sake, 23 and 55 on faith (01-IV.1, 54, 108, 153).
- 306. F.F. 200, Med. 59 on faith (01-IV.1, 159).

- 307. F.F. 201, Med. 18 (01-VII, 25), F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 114).
- 308. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 254).
- 309. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 112), cf., p. 290 infra.
- 310. F.F. 201, Meds. 51, 190 (01-VII, 36, 83).
- 311. F.F. 201, Med. 274 (01-VII, 115), cf., F.F. 200, Med. 158 on charity (01-IV.2, 157).
- 312. F.F. 235, Article 1 (OS, pp.442f).

SPIRIT AND LETTER: KEEPING THE RULE AND KEEPING THE RULES

- 313. cf., The Rule of St. Benedict, chaps. 8-19, 50, 51, 67.
- 314. Ibid., chap. 73.
- 315. Pere Philomene to Dom Martin 15.12.1890 (LFT, p.41). Similar thoughts were expressed by Dom Louis de Gonzague, 17.11.1891 (LFT, p.61), and Dom Polycarpe, 15.2.1895 (LFT, p.96).
- 316. LDM 13.9.1891, LPE 13.9.1891 (LFT, pp.56f).
- 317. LDM 16.6.1891, LPE 16.6.1891 (LFT, pp.53f).
- 318. LDM 11.11.1891 (LFT, p.59) (LD, p.29).
- 319. LDM c 2.2.1892 (LFT, p.71).
- 320. LPE 8.6.1892 (LFT, p.75) (LD, p.32).
- 321. LAH 14.6.1893. Omitted from text (p.26), but given in IS, p.136. Quesnel (Q, p.30) says that the date on the certified copy is 1892, but internal evidence (LAH, p.25 n1) suggests this was a typist's slip.
- 322. LAH 14.6.1893 (p.26) (SPA, p.25).
- 323. LDM 12.9.1892 (LFT, pp.79-81) (LD, pp.34f).
- 324. LAH 8.7.1893, 22.9.1893 (pp.27-34).
- 325. LFT, pp.99-102; translation given in Appendix D.
- 326. LDM 2.2.1892 (LFT, pp.70f).
- 327. F.F. 218, 10.11.1897 (01-IX.1, 145).
- 328. LAH 8.7.1893 (p.28).

329. LAH 22.9.1893 (pp.30f).
330. LAH* 2.8.1896 (p.41).
331. LAH* 27.1.1897 (p.43).
332. LAH* 26.8.1897 (p.52).
333. LAH* 16.11.1899 (pp.54f).
334. F.F. 286 (OS, pp.323f).
335. Ibid.
336. cf., p.219 supra. and note 23.
337. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 112).
338. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 114).
339. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 112).
340. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 114).
341. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 125).
342. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 128).
343. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 131).
344. Ibid. (01-IX.1, 128f).
345. LAH 16.1.1898 (p.60).
346. LAH 8.3.1898 (pp.79f).
347. F.F. 197, 23.10.1898 (unpublished).
348. LAH 15.10.1898 (pp.92f). (SPA, pp.116f).
349. LAH 22.10.1898 (pp.96f). (SPA, p.120).
350. cf., note 347.
351. LAH 22.10.1898 (p.98). (SPA, p.121).
352. LAH 1.2.1898 (p.65) (SPA, p.103).
353. LMB 21.2.1895 (p.53).
354. cf., p. 215 supra, and note 1.
355. LAH 7.5.1900 (p.146).
356. LAH 16.5.1900 (p.161).

357. cf., the comments of both the present superior of the Petits Frères (R. Voillaume, Les Fraternités du Père De Foucauld (Paris: Cerf, 1946), pp.55, 61)), and the Moroccan missionary-monk who followed De Foucauld's vocation as it actually turned out (A. Peyriguère Une Vie qui Crie L'Évangile (Paris: Centurion, 1967), Letters of 1.2.1929 and 29.11.1929, pp. 216f, 237f).
358. e.g., the Carthusian Consuetudines were compiled in 1127, 43 years after the Order was founded (ODCC, p.241); the Rule of the Congregation of St. Vincent De Paul 33 years after its foundation in 1625.
359. cf., p. 457 infra.
360. F.F. 223 (01-IX.2, 149).
361. F.F. 232 (01-X, 190). cf., his disquiet earlier in the year at not having a copy of the Rule with him, and asking Guerin to send one 'for it is my good and it helps me to proceed' IMG 4.7.1904 (Q, p.128).
362. F.F. 228 (01-X, 81).
363. IMBL 17.1.1902 (TPF, p.128).
364. IMG 19.1.1902 (NES, p.32).
365. LDM 7.2.1902 (LFT, p.225), 15.5.1902 (LFT, pp.231f).
366. LDM 8.9.1902 (LFT, p.239), cf., IMG 30.9.1902 (OS, pp.684, 687, 689).
367. F.F. 230 (01-X, 111).
368. F.F. 230 (01-X, 103).
369. F.F. 232 (01-X, 185).
370. F.F. 293? (01-X, 221).
371. LAH 13.12.1903 (p.216), a copy of which was preserved in De Foucauld's diary (OS, pp.350-2).
372. cf., pp. 463ff infra.
373. F.F. 232 (01-X, 20).
374. Diary entry, 1.11.1905 (OS, pp.374f).
375. Quoted to Regnault 30.12.1903 (AS.2, 75), Moussa Ag Amastene 23.10.1905 (OS, p.371), Louis de Foucauld 1.5.1912 (C, p.183), and Gardel 28.12.1913 (AS.2, 368).

- 376. LAH 15.7.1904 (p.221), LHC 15.7.1904 (p.156).
- 377. To Regnault, 28.10.1905 (AS.2, 85).
- 378. To the Abbé Veyras, 3.12.1905 (text in IS, p.321).
But Huvelin does not seem to have approved, as he
did not pass the letter on. cf., LAH 3.12.1905
(p.249 note 1).
- 379. Although he was to hope in 1909 that Louis Massignon
would take over his new rôle of priest-scholar, cf.,
p.423 infra.
- 380. As he had before, cf., letter of 20.4.1903 partially
given in B, pp.180f.
- 381. But the 'Nazareth' framework was retained in the final
formulation of his ideal, cf., Letter to Père Antonin,
13.5.1911 (LFT, pp.273-6).
- 382. LAH 13.12.1903 (p.217), with a copy preserved in De Foucauld's
diary (OS, p.350).
- 383. Dom Louis de Gonzague to Dom Martin 11.2.1897 (LFT, p.118)
(LD, p.53).
- 384. LAH* 26.6.1901, 15.7.1901 (p.189).
- 385. IMG 2.7.1907 (B, p.260) (SPA, p.172).

CHAPTER FIVE : 'A MONK OUT OF HIS CLOISTER IS
A FISH OUT OF WATER' : THE PERSEVERANCE OF A
PRESUPPOSITION

1 - TOWARDS THE DEFINITION OF A PRINCIPLE

ORIGINS

Almost the first thing that De Foucauld would have learned at Notre-Dame des Neiges from the Rule of St. Benedict is that the place for the monk, whether engaged in spiritual or manual work, is the enclosure.¹ If possible, the monastery should be self-contained, 'so that the monks may not be compelled to wander outside it, for that is not at all expedient for their souls.'² If it is necessary for monks to be sent on journeys (and they can only leave the enclosure by express permission of the abbot), they must be protected with prayer while absent and made a special object of concern when they return. The travellers must ask for prayers on account of any sins incurred from idle chatter or contact with evil.³ Indeed, such faults may be avoided in following the rule that on short journeys which can be completed in a day, invitations to take meals outside the monastery must be declined.⁴

'Never let anyone', continues the Rule, 'presume to tell another what he has seen or heard outside the monastery, because this causes very great harm'.⁵ This wide-ranging provision, taken literally, has been understood to rule out the use of newspapers, radio and television,⁶ as well as underwriting the specific rules against speaking with monastery guests or receiving or sending letters without permission.⁷

In addition to all these regulations governing contact with the outside world, there was the first part of the Benedictine vow to consider. This was the promise of 'stability',⁸ an undertaking to stay in one particular monastery for life and not to wander from one to another seeking better conditions in which to live under obedience. Even if modern interpretations of the vow allowed for movement to a daughter house or to another monastery of the same congregation, it was still necessary to examine the motives for wanting such changes of residence very carefully. For although seeking a place in which to live a more perfect life is not wrong in itself, 'it is in actual practice so often self-will which prompts the application that the best spiritual authorities advise against it'.⁹

Besides this, there may also be a misunderstanding of the meaning of perfection.

Monks who for one reason or another are unsettled in their communities often make the mistake of identifying perfection with a particular form of observance unattainable here and now. They imagine that somewhere else Benedictines are rapidly finding perfection in a setting ideally suited to precisely the kind of perfection which is exercising such a pull. But surely the essence of perfection is to seek God. So long as it cannot positively be denied that God is there in the monastery, to be served and sought according to the principles of monasticism, perfection is attainable. The soul must search for God among imperfect men in an imperfect monastery: this is his exercise of faith. Perfection consists in surrendering to the limitations at home while retaining the ideals which are believed to be better served elsewhere.¹⁰

There is no doubt that in De Foucauld's long search for the place to live the Nazareth life he was faced with arguments of this kind¹¹ and wondered whether he was deluded in his outlook.

Even when half his mind disagreed that perfection could be found

in the monastery, the other half wished to believe it and longed for stability. He went to Akbès 'to finish his days in silence and oblivion' (16.6.1891).¹² On arriving at Nazareth, De Foucauld was delighted to find the life he had always wanted, and concluded 'Nothing remains now beyond going to heaven' (12.4.1897).¹³

Huvelin had hoped that he would have found it with the Trappists and stayed there. Later he strongly advised him to resist urges to move from Nazareth, on both occasions¹⁴ quoting a sentence from the ceremony of reception into a religious community: 'Haec requies in saeculum saeculi' ('This is my resting place for ever.' Ps 132.14). De Foucauld took up the phrase and made it the summary resolution of his 1899 retreat. 'This is my resting place for ever, at Nazareth, where I am, as I am', immediately adding, however, 'Not that I cease to abandon myself totally to the will of God'.¹⁵ But at this particular moment he believed that he was following that will.

The two parts of the conclusion were more clearly stated in a letter written a year earlier. De Foucauld was looking back on all that had happened since he had become a Trappist eight years previously. It seemed that the only security in all that had taken place, or would occur in the future was to be found in obedience: in obedience to God mediated through obedience to Huvelin:

There have been so many journeys and changes since then!
Where is the requies in saeculum saeculi? In Jesus alone.
That has been the message of all my stopping-places,
and every step of my journeys.

In Jesus, through obedience - for the more ardent my longing to do his will, the more I feel that the only security for me, uncertain and fearful as I am, is in obedience ... I beseech you to guide me ever more clearly in all things, so that I do whatever is pleasing to God,

and am prevented from doing anything displeasing to him. Everything you tell me to do, I will do - everything.¹⁶

De Foucauld was also to be concerned for the same kind of stability in the Sahara. He always left the fraternity at Beni-Abbès with regret and when he founded a hermitage at Tamanrasset he was strongly tempted to stay there permanently, instead of travelling between the two. For not only did he find it extremely difficult to detach himself from all that he had learned of the various aspects of enclosure from the Rule of St. Benedict during his time as a Trappist,¹⁷ he was also consciously seeking to follow those principles as they had become enshrined in his own Rule, from its beginnings in 1896.

INITIAL APPRECIATION

In De Foucauld's first project, that for the Congregation des Petits Frères de Jésus¹⁸, it was proposed that 'the enclosure will be very severe' and that exits from it, if they ever took place at all, 'should be extremely rare'. Normally the steward will go out to buy anything that is necessary. If the Brothers are sent on a journey they will travel in twos, and, like the poorest of people and like Jesus, Joseph and Mary, on foot or by the lowest class of public transport. There is to be perpetual silence between Brothers, broken only by permission of the Superior.

Although this rudimentary outline was made six years after De Foucauld had become a monk, and was not to be filled out until 1899; he had a constant outlook from the beginning, as may be seen from his other writings and letters.

De Foucauld's feelings about enclosure during the period up to 1898 are well summarised in a meditation written at Nazareth on Psalm 84.3 'The sparrow has found her a home and the swallow her nest'.

Oh! How many times have I repeated these words at your altar, my God! Whether in the world after my conversion, in the hours when in the silence of your churches I meditated at your feet far from the clamours of the world, whether at La Trappe, where I was truly in your house, protected by high walls against the world, separated from it, hidden in the secret of your face and intoxicated by the pleasures of your store-rooms, whether here above all in this sweet nest of Nazareth where you have so providentially, so marvellously, so miraculously prepared and given a dwelling, a home, a nest, this cloister of Sainte-Claire, so deliciously peaceful, almost all day the sanctuary itself, two metres from the sacred Host. At night this little house of planks, a peaceful hermitage which you seem to have made available expressly for me, where I live in company with the sparrows you speak of here ...¹⁹

His penchant for living behind high walls stayed with De Foucauld when he moved from Notre-Dame des Neiges to Akbès. He wished to complete his task of laying out the paths round the recently founded monastery as soon as he could, so that he might return inside it for good. He also hoped that when the buildings were finished they would have 'a huge enclosure, thick and high'.²⁰

Yet a year later he was surprised to find that an enclosure, although very useful, was not absolutely essential.

The thing that pleases me very much, regarding the lack of a cloister and so on, is that I find that it isn't an obstacle to regularity; God who has sent us here in these conditions gives us the necessary grace to be able to be regular without that aid.²¹

Even so, this discovery was to lie dormant for more than a decade and only be fully brought to consciousness when De Foucauld was wondering where he should site a new fraternity in the centre of the

Hoggar. Physical isolation, like that of his hut at Nazareth or his unrealised hermitage on the Mount of Beatitudes, was a temptation; but an interiorised enclosure would, he believed, be closer to the Gospel. For

...it is love which should make you inwardly recollected in me, and not separation from my children: see me in them, and like me at Nazareth, live near them, lost in God.²²

Although he had enjoyed the solitude and silence of the snow-bound enclosure and had fond memories of the community at Notre-Dame des Neiges,²³ he never expected to see it again as he did not wish to become a 'travelling monk'. For the same reason, De Foucauld didn't envisage seeing his friend Duveyrier again unless he came to the monastery as a guest.²⁴ He also felt it necessary to resign from the Société de Géographie de Paris, although, as he explained to secretary Maunoir (who was another of the four or five real friends that De Foucauld had outside his family circle), the breaking of external links with the world was not to be confused with the severing of the deeper ties of gratitude to the Society and of personal friendship with Maunoir himself.²⁵

De Foucauld kept up a correspondence with both men, admitting that although Trappists didn't write very often, they thought and prayed about their friends a good deal. The silence of the cloister was not one of forgetfulness.²⁶ He would pray that they would enjoy in the world some of the peace he enjoyed in the cloister.²⁷

However, despite the fact that near the beginning of his monastic life he had been given specific authority to write to Dom Martin fairly frequently (every two months), and was later to be

urged by Huvelin to maintain links with his Trappist friends and with others, for their sakes as much as for his,²⁸ De Foucauld did have scruples about using permission to write to people.

On one occasion, when the prior at Akbès had given him permission to write to Father Jérôme at Notre-Dame des Neiges, he had done so²⁹ and then written to Huvelin to check that it was a good thing.³⁰ Huvelin also told him to write more to his cousin,³¹ advice which had to be repeated two years later, when De Foucauld was clearly told that 'four times a year will not be enough'.³² Yet, to a man trying to bury himself in the obscurity of Nazareth, even this must have been something of a concession, judging by the principle he was to lay down of only writing to Dom Martin once a year,³³ a principle only to be over-ruled in exceptional circumstances such as the sending of condolences on learning of the death of a member of the community.³⁴

ELABORATION

The temporary and permanent Rules of the Ermites du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus (Epiphany 1899)³⁵ elaborate a little on the brief statement of 1896. The Hermits, who are called such not because they live apart from each other, but because the group of about 20 members is to live apart from the world,³⁶ seek to do two things: to imitate the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth and to adore the perpetually exposed blessed Sacrament.³⁷ Their separation arises from the rule of strict and perpetual enclosure,³⁸ severe silence and detachment from secular matters and external affairs.³⁹ On the other hand, there is provision in the permanent Rule (which was

intended for the community, as opposed to the temporary Rule which De Foucauld was to follow while he was alone) to welcome guests into particular parts of the hermitage, including a section of the chapel.⁴⁰

De Foucauld's thoughts on silence and detachment are worked out further. The rule of silence is extended to cover notes and letters.⁴¹ There is now an absolute ban on secular reading and study, and also on the reading of newspapers. This is so that the Hermits may be 'radically separated from the world and have "all their conversation in heaven"'. Worldly affairs, whether material or political, are to be avoided 'to be like the divine Master whose "kingdom was not of this world" ... a complete detachment from all that is not God or Jesus'.⁴²

But it is the rule of enclosure which concerns De Foucauld most at this point. The Hermits are to take a special vow to observe it, in addition to the traditional three of poverty, chastity, and obedience. It will be a matter of grave sin to leave the enclosure, except in three cases: To administer the sacraments in cases of extreme necessity when no other priest is available, to go to receive holy orders, or to go to settle permanently in another hermitage by order of the superior.⁴³

The background to all this is given in a letter written to Huvelin⁴⁴ in which De Foucauld requested permission to take this strict vow in order to have a valid reason for declining to accompany a priest from Jerusalem to Nazareth; a thing which in his current self-chosen position of convent servant, he could not easily do. Such a journey appeared both unnecessary and harmful to his interior

life, but if obedience was the only guide to action, he would not be able to refuse the request. Only a vow of enclosure could guarantee his solitude, stability and obscurity.⁴⁵

In this case obedience seems to have been ranked secondary to enclosure; but in the same letter De Foucauld asserted the priority of obedience over the other vow. For in addition to the three situations given, he was ready to leave the enclosure when Huvelin commanded,⁴⁶ although this latter provision was not part of the Rule but a temporary mitigation of it.

The apparent contradiction is to be at least partly resolved in seeing that there were several kinds of obedience involved. In the first place, De Foucauld wished to make obedience to the requests of his hosts, the Poor Clares, subservient to the possibilities allowed in his Rule. Yet secondly, he also wanted to make obedience to the Rule - which gave him stability, a feeling of peace in having found a permanent life-style, and a way of declining to follow the easy life which the attentions of the kind-hearted Clares tended to lead to⁴⁷ - secondary to obedience to Huvelin. This is to be seen not only in the matter of enclosure, but in that De Foucauld sought Huvelin's approval of the Rule as a whole, and in making annually renewable vows he would be looking for a regular endorsement of its observance.

This is not just a case of giving with one hand and taking away with the other, as the abbess at Jerusalem had long been wanting De Foucauld to change his status from servant to hermit and priest,⁴⁸ an endeavour she was eventually to succeed in. On the other hand, it must be said that De Foucauld was trying to define

what he was prepared to do for other people by reference to a Rule of his own devising and to a spiritual director many hundreds of miles from the situation. Yet if this is an illustration of independence disguised as dependence, there may also be a real element of dependence parallel to that shown in the matter of scrupulosity about writing letters. The prior had given permission, but De Foucauld wasn't happy until Huvelin agreed, although even then he followed a stricter standard than his director thought necessary. So it would seem that the independence was more significant in the end.

DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION

The permanent Rule of early 1899 is the basis of De Foucauld's longest and final codification for himself which was in preparation at this time and definitively revised in 1901.⁴⁹ It would need special equipment and techniques to decipher all the alterations, deletions, erasures and pastings-over made throughout the revision of the manuscript, but the preliminary chapter⁵⁰ of the resulting Rule of the Petits Frères du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus can easily be compared with its precursor, the permanent part of the rule for the Hermits. On the points under consideration the two are identical except that the Brothers now see themselves as 'solitaries',⁵¹ rather than 'hermits', and additions are made to their stated aims. These bring out their mission more clearly and at the same time reveal the tensions which De Foucauld always lived with.

On the one hand, their universal fraternal aim is 'to make

Jesus and charity reign in their heart and around them'.⁵² There is a new section on 'zeal for souls'. 'They should be "Saviours" through the presence of the most blessed sacrament and the offering of the holy sacrifice, through imitation of the virtues of Jesus, through penance and prayer, kindness and charity ...'⁵³ On the other hand such kindness and charity must operate in the context of a new requirement: 'The rule to found Fraternities away from inhabited areas, in solitary places'.⁵⁴

This tension also appears in the detailed provisions of the constitutional articles and their explanatory chapters. Enclosure and its implications are touched on in four sections; numbers 4 (vows), 7 (enclosure), 19 (silence), and 20 (separation from the world).

There are four vows, as before (Article 4), and enclosure is described in the same terms as previously (Article 7), although there is now an extra reason for a Brother to leave the enclosure. He may do so to seek powers to act as a confessor to people outside the community.⁵⁵ The chapter explaining this article,⁵⁶ also specifies an enclosure wall 'at least two metres high' in addition to prescribing the walled areas in which guests (Christian or non-Christian, male or female) may be received. These three parts of the fraternity: the Aumônerie, the Retraite, and part of the chapel are to be built in a way which preserves the silence of the enclosure as much as possible, following the meticulously detailed architectural plans which De Foucauld appended to the Rule. The strict enclosure requires the employment of one or more domestics as doorkeepers and outside workers. Such people, who need not be Christians, are to be the special concern of the Brothers and 'the

first subjects of our evangelisation and charity'.⁵⁷

Article 19⁵⁸ requires that all letters sent or received be censored by the prior, except those to or from higher ecclesiastical authority or written in the course of a priest's action as a confessor to an outsider. The relevant chapter⁵⁹ adds some thoughts on the spirit of silence. Inside the fraternity, anything spoken must be for the glory of God. Outside, while the Brothers are free to speak when need or charity requires it, they are not free to forget the custom of silence and pious meditation. Journeys should be a time of inner retreat.

Separation from the world, the subject of the next Article, involves a number of matters. In addition to the previous ban on secular reading and study, the use of newspapers, speaking of worldly matters or taking part in public affairs, there are three further stipulations. Fraternities must be established in uninhabited places. Brothers should not be employed in any preaching, teaching or parish work. A Brother's name and past history must not be revealed to anyone except his confessor or the prior.⁶⁰

Besides all this, De Foucauld dwells at length on the advice of St. John of the Cross 'to live in the world as if there were only God and our soul there', and lays down that 'relations with parents or friends, by letter and in the fraternity parlour, will be as rare as charity toward them will permit: for our souls, it would be better if they absolutely did not exist, that they should be broken for ever ...'.⁶¹ For the same reason it is forbidden to know, think or talk about worldly and political matters. Enclosure also rules out the possibility of Brothers doing military

service. Although this had been implied all along in the 1896 ban⁶² on possessing or bearing arms, it is specifically stated for the first time in the 1901 Rule.

The conclusion of the matter is this: 'Only one voice from outside will penetrate to us',⁶³ that of Jesus' representative on earth, the Pope.

Such, then, is the Rule which De Foucauld followed for the rest of his life. There were no revisions or simplifications of the text, it remained as the detailed and uncompromising standard. One of its provisions was that its forty chapters should be the basis of the Brothers' annual retreat for self-examination. The full text of his retreats for 1902, 1904 and 1905 survive, so the development of De Foucauld's thoughts on the four Articles that bear on the subject of enclosure can be followed.

A PRINCIPLE IN ACTION: PROLOGUE TO A PATTERN

However, before consideration is given to De Foucauld's application of his Rule to the North African situation, a pause may be made to note how he dealt with the transitional phase. For before he was able to go to the Sahara to attempt to live out his Rule, De Foucauld had to return to France to prepare for ordination. One would expect him to have had mixed feelings about this, as it entailed both re-entering a community he had judged to be imperfect, and also implicitly admitting that his thinking about the priesthood had been mistaken. Such thoughts do not appear to have reached conscious expression, although it is not unreasonable to suppose that they did occur, for their effect could well have reinforced the attitude that De Foucauld adopted to the journey. For he was

somewhat reluctant to undertake it, both because it involved leaving his beloved hermitage at Nazareth,⁶⁴ and because it meant travelling. So, at the very least, decided De Foucauld, his stay in France should be as short as possible, for

The hermit should stay in the desert like fish in the water; I should not prolong my stay in Trappes or elsewhere, my place is in the hermitage, in the desert. I have only resolved on this journey forced by necessity as I see the only way to be certain of having a good preparation for the priesthood there.⁶⁵

There were also two other reasons for making the trip, to beg for funds for his projected purchase of the Mount of Beatitudes, or to see Huvelin who was very ill at the time. It might seem that he was rather more amenable to undertaking the former, although he saw it as the necessary completion of a contract that he had already entered rather than the carrying out of a personal project. Certainly his thoughts on the second additional reason for going to France expressed a greater contrast between likes and duties.

... journeys are not proper for hermits; not to see you will be a great sacrifice for me: but we are 'sheep destined for sacrifice' and sacrifice is our life.⁶⁶

So, on one hand he affirms

How pleasant it will be for me to see you! If you want me to come to see you, write or telegraph and I will come immediately.⁶⁷

Here we have a possibility of overriding the rule, although De Foucauld will not take the initiative in this. But in the same letter the question is seen more as one of doing one's duty, a concept that excludes giving pleasure to others, not to mention giving it to oneself.

But as a general rule, I think that hermits should stay in the desert - or at Nazareth, which gives me the calm of the desert - and that steamers and highways are not their place. To me it is an immense sacrifice to give up seeing you, but unless I have to go to France to beg, it seems that it is best not to leave the hermitage, and to seek you where I always find you and where I hope we will be united for ever and ever, in Jesus.⁶⁸

Be that as it may, a few days later De Foucauld's sister sent him some money for the Mount of Beatitudes scheme, and in feeling duly grateful he wondered⁶⁹ whether he wasn't under an obligation to satisfy her long-standing wish to see him at least once more. For the advance had probably been made because he had told her that a trip to France for ordination and seeing her was a real possibility. Not to go would be a cruelty; besides, other advantages could be gained. He might have a good influence on her children, he would be able to see Huvelin, the ordination training at Notre-Dame des Neiges would be better, and he might even be able to find some kindred spirits there who would be willing to join him on the Mount of Beatitudes.⁷⁰

Yet the same feelings about enclosure were present. It would be a thousand times better for his sister to visit him, than for the reverse, although he did see that young children were a problem. But unless ordination was easier to arrange in France he really would prefer to keep his Rule and stay in the Holy Land. What was the right thing to do? He didn't know, Huvelin must decide. However, a post script to the letter added that, for his own part, he was fully convinced that he should be ordained in Paris.

Postal services being what they are, it would not be surprising if Huvelin received his next letter, which was written only three

days later, at the same time as the first. This told him that De Foucauld had decided to seek Holy Orders from the Patriarch in Jerusalem, along with permission to wear a hermit's dress and to establish a fraternity - if Huvelin did not stop him with a telegram.

The reasons given combined the principles of naïve imitation and monasticism.

It is at Jerusalem, and not elsewhere that I should ask these three things for it is there that Jesus would have asked them. He would not have been going off to France. Besides, my vow of poverty 'never to have in my possession or for my use more than a poor workman would have' forbids such an expensive journey.⁷¹

Huvelin was not impressed by either the Mount of Beatitudes affair or the ordination at Jerusalem project, seeing only instability and self-will underneath the surface spirituality.⁷² He was relieved when the plans fell through and counselled De Foucauld to go back to his normal life at Nazareth.⁷³ Similarly, when the time came to go to Notre-Dame des Neiges, Huvelin wanted him to have a Nazareth-type interior or contemplative preparation for ordination, rather than an active one.⁷⁴ Yet while De Foucauld was to go to the monastery as quickly as possible, Huvelin did not underwrite all his feelings about enclosure. On the contrary, he gave him every encouragement to relax his rule enough to allow himself a visit to his sister on the way.⁷⁵

So De Foucauld stayed at Notre-Dame des Neiges for nearly a year, breaking silence only to inform Father Jérôme near the end of this period of his plans (no letter having passed between them since the end of his stay in the Holy Land), and to ask Henry de Castries, an old friend from army days, where would be the best place on the Moroccan border to found a fraternity. In both cases

De Foucauld has something to say about monastic silence. To Father Jérôme he spoke of its value.

You have been constantly in my thoughts and prayers during this long silence. Silence, you know, is just the opposite to coldness and forgetfulness: in meditatione exardescet ignis. It is in silence that we love most ardently; noise and words often put out the inner fire; let us be silent, dearest Father, like St. Magdalene, like John the Baptist; let us pray God to kindle within us the fire that made their silence and solitude so blessed.⁷⁶

To Henry de Castries he also said why he was ready to break it. after twelve years

It is for God that I have kept silence all this time and it is for God that today I break it.⁷⁷

At that point it was a question of seeking information to help in the spreading of the kingdom of God, but as their friendship became reestablished and De Foucauld realised that his friend was in need of help to strengthen his shaken faith, he came to express a wider reason for transcending the rule.

... if I break the silence of the cloister to write to you, it is to help us mutually to know and serve him better: everything which does not lead us to this, to know and serve God better, is wasted time.⁷⁸

De Foucauld left Notre-Dame des Neiges on 6 September 1901 and arrived at Beni-Abbès, the centre he had chosen for his fraternity, on 28th October. By 1 December the chapel was ready for the first celebration of mass, and the same day he considered himself enclosed.⁷⁹ Except in the unlikely event of a permanent removal to another site, he resolved that

From now on, I will only leave this little retreat for the sick who need spiritual help.⁸⁰

All the elements of this application of the principle of enclosure were to reappear each time that De Foucauld considered

a new situation or alternative courses of action. There would be a firm declaration of principle and a detailed examination of motives accompanied by a severe attitude to self-interest. Yet this analysis could turn out to be superficial, in that although duty would be contrasted with personal preference, the distinction between the two tended to blur in practice. For it would appear that De Foucauld's real preference was sometimes the source of his concept of duty (instead of vice versa). That is to say, his self-examination was not as objective as he thought it was, so his own will and the will of God were confused.

It will also be noted that the traditional precaution against this kind of thing coming to pass was largely vitiated in De Foucauld's case, for his willingness to submit his judgment to another person (whether it be to Huvelin as his spiritual director, or to Guérin as his ecclesiastical superior in the Sahara) was modified by the distance in time and space between the two parties. In the Holy Land period De Foucauld's actions on his own initiative would have been judged both by himself and Huvelin as acts of disobedience, or at least felt to be such. Later on, De Foucauld would come to believe more confidently that God guided through events as well as through the voices of authorised representatives, which would both simplify and complicate the issue. For De Foucauld would be both freer to act on his own, and also more responsible; having neither the certainty nor the fear that the thoughts of his superiors were identical with those of God, but now needing to interpret the 'signs of the times' as well as heeding their instructions in order to find the will of God.

A final point may be made about De Foucauld's concept of the will of God. As the quotations from the letters to Father Jérôme and Henry de Castries indicate, besides the note of duty and severity, there is one of love and openness. So, just as De Foucauld broke silence for God's sake, 'to know and serve him better', so he would undertake new activities in the years ahead, although, as the rest of this chapter shows, the consideration, 'everything which does not lead us to this ... is wasted time' was never far from De Foucauld's mind and often made him hesitate.

2 - PRACTICAL REALITIES:
A BENI-ABBES DIARY (1902-1905)

FIRST STEPS

At first, the enclosure at Beni-Abbès was more symbolic than anything else. There were no six foot high walls, only 'lines of pebbles about the size of an egg' at the beginning, later 'replaced by a row of stakes, more or less twisted, on which were fixed two lines of barbed wire'.⁸¹ At the same time, De Foucauld would not cross the boundary without good reason. If he accepted invitations to dine with the French officers when notable visitors arrived, it was for their sake that he did it.⁸²

It might be wondered, however, if there was not a more practical reason involved, as the military took a rather more realistic attitude to his health and welfare, as the following story illustrates.

Every Sunday, Father de Foucauld was invited to dine at the officers' mess. Pleading that this would oblige him to leave his hermitage, a thing contrary to the rule, he asked if we could send his meal to him, which was done until the day when it was discovered that this was only for it to be possible to distribute the food to the poor.⁸³

Be that as it may, when he was with the officers he never initiated conversation and refused to be drawn by questions on his knowledge of Morocco. Yet something of the old soldier remained in his attitude to law and order, there was no brushing aside of the measures necessary to bring thieves and terrorists to justice.⁸⁴

But De Foucauld did miss having an effective enclosure, particularly as he was alone and had to welcome each visitor himself.

Although he did not leave the enclosure, 60 - 100 people knocked on the door every day. Running a monastery single-handed was not an ideal state of affairs, so he asked Dom Martin if Brother Augustin could be sent to share his work. Yet it seems that De Foucauld was ready to give up the silence he preferred to a certain degree, as he wrote.

For the first time I understand St. Gregory the Great's laments for the loss of the peace and quiet of the cloister, though I truly believe that I want only what Jesus wants when I see myself as a man of words and ministry (while never leaving the enclosure): but my guests ... never leave me alone for a moment.⁸⁵

De Foucauld didn't know when, if ever, fellow-workers might join him, but he set about making conditions suitable for them. This included the construction of a real enclosure wall, ostensibly for their benefit, though it may be wondered if it was not a recreation of his own preferred environment. Perhaps the lines of pebbles were always intended as a temporary expedient. On the other hand, there is no doubt that De Foucauld wished to assure Dom Martin that Brother Augustin would be able to lead a regular life if he was transferred to Beni-Abbès as 'almoner and gardener without any temporal occupation that has to do with the world ... now that the arrangements are sufficiently advanced for him to have silence and meditation, I think that the moment for his coming has arrived'.⁸⁶ A third possibility is that De Foucauld had only been waiting for the land to be completely paid for, as it was immediately following this that he blessed the first stone of the enclosure.⁸⁷ He then began working for five or six hours a day, constructing what he described as 'the most holy thing after the church and the most necessary for monks':⁸⁸ a 1,500 metre wall around his nine

hectares - on which stood 180 palm trees, some fruit trees, the chapel, sacristy, guest-chamber and the other two almost completed rooms⁸⁹ to give his hoped-for companions 'recollection, regular life, peace and silence'.⁹⁰

Five months later, De Foucauld was still intending to have a very high wall (according to his Rule), but it remained an intention as hospitality to visitors crowded out his building operations. The wall around the Aumônerie and Retraite courtyards (temporarily to be limited to two metres in height) was not complete, and barbed wire would have to suffice for the boundaries of his land.⁹¹ Although he did not mention it, this would be more like the conditions at Akbès, a fence of 'dry thorn and stakes',⁹² than the solid walls of Notre-Dame des Neiges.

Surprisingly enough, it might be thought, when De Foucauld came to his annual retreat for 1902⁹³ the first detailed meditation on his attempt to keep the Rule of the Petits Frères, the physical aspect of enclosure seemed not to be in his mind, although he was concerned about its function, about maintaining the right conditions for the preservation of his prayer life, and the avoidance of a Martha-like activism.⁹⁴ Yet, in his general resolution to do everything possible for himself and his companions to fulfil the vows, by following the Rule perfectly and sanctifying himself as much as possible,⁹⁵ De Faucauld did not dwell on the rule of enclosure for himself, but, looking outwards, considered only the final provision of chapter 7.

So he decided

to set aside every day a certain time - sacred time - for the evangelisation of domestics, permanent and passing guests 'They are the first subjects of our evangelisation and charity'.⁹⁶

In following this line of thought through he determined to keep silence (chapter 19) as much as possible, 'but to break it every time that Jesus at Nazareth would have broken it in my place, in the measure in the manner that he would have broken it'.⁹⁷

This principle would determine his relationship with the people he was trying to help, and also (and primarily, as the point is made three times⁹⁸) the means he could use to attract members to the Fraternity. So De Foucauld decided that he could write letters of comfort and spiritual help to parents and friends, but it was not right to advertise the existence of the Fraternity. That would be to transgress 'against the imitation of the hidden life of Jesus, which is the chief point of my vocation'.

... If Jesus wishes the Petits Frères du Sacré-Coeur to be known and to multiply, that is easy for him, and it is for him to do it, the call should be divine and not human, for myself, my only duty towards their establishment is to sanctify myself as much as possible and to carry on the life here as exactly as possible.⁹⁹

Separation from the world (chapter 20) was to be as rigorous as possible. De Foucauld decided

Never to speak of my family or my past to those who did not know them. Never to speak first to those who did know them. Never be the first to speak of external news, and if someone speaks of it to me, turn the conversation and make it bear on the things of God. When someone speaks to me of political events or external matters, whenever I can do it without injury to souls (always with the natives) make a declaration of principle, and say that I only wish to hear God spoken of. With the natives permit nothing in conversation except prayers or talk about God.¹⁰⁰

He also resolved to speak less to both Christians and Muslims,¹⁰¹

'to be more interior with visitors, ... pray about them, and give

good advice to all, tell the sick to pray and be good, ... speak more than I have been about Jesus to those who surround me.'¹⁰²

In what context should these latter resolutions be placed? Are they those of an embittered ascetic who has given up upon this world and his own world? And if so, what kind of God would he be talking about to his visitors?

Here, as elsewhere, the ascetic element has to be recognised. De Foucauld saw the Petits Frères living a penitential as well as a worshipping life,¹⁰³ he also wished them to live away from inhabited places.¹⁰⁴ But just as his initial ascetic outlook at the beginning of his Trappist career was modified by his experience, so his wish for solitude and detachment had to be evaluated in a larger context, a context of thought and experience which eventually changed his outlook.

In the first case he admitted

I believed in entering the monastery that I would only find the Cross, and I embraced it with joy to follow the beloved Jesus: but while finding it (without it, life will not be complete, for we will not resemble the beloved) I have found so many delights that the same sorrows have made tears of joy flow.¹⁰⁵

In the second, his initial thoughts during his ordination year at Notre-Dame des Neiges clearly contrasted preference and duty. He confessed to Henry de Castries that in looking for a place to set up his fraternity 'the abandoned oases you speak of captivate me extremely', but he immediately added

but if there are some French garrisons lacking priests, I will be obliged to choose them, so that souls, the sick, the dying, should not be deprived of eternal life through my fault.¹⁰⁶

But after a year at Beni-Abbès, despite tensions in experience matching his original considerations, De Foucauld was able to write of his feelings in a way that shows there was no question of an embittered ascetic reflecting a God made in his own image. The passage is worth quoting at length as it raises several issues.

I do not see Beni-Abbès from the fraternity of the Saint COEUR (sic) one can see nothing but the desert from any point of the little piece of land surrounding it where I live enclosed, that is a joy to me. It is so good ... while praying with all one's heart for the men who are on this poor earth ... to lift one's eyes high above it, into the great sky, picture of the infinite for which we are created. What I tell you of this country holds little place in my life, it is the fruit of my conversations with the officers. I am very very happy ... without a doubt one wishes to see souls believe and love, the people still in the shadow of death to open their eyes to the great light, good to prevail, but the misery of creatures should not dim the deep happiness of the soul, the 'inundation of peace' which arises from thinking of the infinite, immense, unchangeable happiness of the Creator: one 'gives thanks for his great glory' to him, one rejoices that God is God.¹⁰⁷

Was De Foucauld being selfish in rejoicing that 'God is God'?

No, because that was bound up with recognising that all men are children of God and should be treated as such. As he explained in a similar letter written a year later:

Interior consolation does not prevent me from thinking of those I love, very dear friend, on the contrary it unites me more closely with them. Deus caritas est. And the more one strives to love God, the more one inevitably has love for those whom God loves so much.¹⁰⁸

Not only was he praying with all his heart, which might be considered a full discharge of his responsibilities to them; he was also engaged in practical action. For it was during this period that

De Foucauld was campaigning, however unsuccessfully or in an unsophisticated manner, for the abolition of the illegal slavery that was still prevalent in the area.¹⁰⁹ So, the affirmation: 'What I tell you of this country holds little place in my life' is not to be taken at face value; although by comparison with his activities in later years, it was relatively true.

AN ALTERNATIVE OUTLOOK: INITIAL REACTIONS

De Foucauld seems to have been aware that his behaviour was open to the criticisms raised at the end of the last section, as they are all touched on in a letter written to Mgr. Guérin in February 1903.

You ask me if I am ready to go anywhere else besides Beni-Abbès to spread the holy Gospel. To do that I am ready to go to the end of the world and to live till the last judgement.

Do not think that the hope of enjoying the vision of the Beloved more quickly plays any part in my way of life - I want only one thing: to do what is most pleasing to him. If I love fasting and watching, it is because Jesus loved them so much. I am envious of his nights of prayer on the mountain tops, I should like to keep him company.¹¹⁰

As on other occasions, De Foucauld distinguished between what he saw as duty to others and what he considered as mere pleasure or concern for himself. For three months after writing the above he told the same prelate that he could not leave his enclosure to go and see him and make his confession for the first time since October 1901.¹¹¹ When Guérin came to see him instead, De Foucauld backtracked a little on his readiness to go anywhere, feeling that it would be a betrayal of his vocation. For Guérin

seemed, in the nicest possible way, to be encouraging him to 'transform my life of a silent and hidden monk, my life of Nazareth, into the life of a missionary'.¹¹² While both were apostles, they were different, and De Foucauld was not going to change from one to the other.

Guérin had urged that

Besides fixed establishments, it seems that the development of Christianity in these countries requires missionaries who are perpetually on expeditions, passing some days in each place and returning there often, constantly showing themselves, constantly chatting, constantly doing apostolic work in the service of men in these journeys through conversations, through the teaching of the truths of natural religion at first, and of others when there will be cause to.¹¹³

Yet enough of Guérin's words sank in to challenge his preconceptions and for him to make a formal request, only a fortnight later, for permission to leave his enclosure and go to settle in the south for the sake of the Touareg and the scattered French outposts. De Foucauld hoped to live in a smaller hermitage (2m x 2m, with a 2m x 5m oratory¹¹⁴) more as he did at Nazareth, but without an enclosure, going out to meet the Touareg as often as possible as he wished to get to know them well and to give them the Gospel in their own language.

All this would be a novel and frightening departure for him, but he believed it to be a necessary part of imitating Jesus the Saviour. He would be beginning evangelisation by taking 'the seed of divine doctrine to as many souls as possible - not in preaching but in conversation.'¹¹⁵

Naturally enough, Guérin wondered if De Foucauld had been over-influenced by his suggestions and was showing unwonted

enthusiasm for yet another unsuitable project, and asked for time to think about his request.¹¹⁶ He pointed out that De Foucauld would find himself travelling in the wake of nomadic tribes rather than being settled in the fixed base he was always seeking. There were also practical difficulties including the fact that it was the wrong time of the year to be travelling, it was too hot. But De Foucauld, true to the family motto Jamais arri re, persisted. Huvelin and Laperrine had given their permission. The question of heat was irrelevant. If French soldiers could overcome it, surely soldiers of God must.

I do not say that I obstinately wish to leave immediately. Not at all. But there is only one thing to consider, at what moment it will be best to leave to accomplish the will of our Father.¹¹⁷

Once again Gu rin asked for time to consider,¹¹⁸ and then sent a very long letter¹¹⁹ detailing his objections and underlining the fact that De Foucauld would, as he had no server, have to make the sacrifice of doing without the mass which he valued so much for himself and for others. Nevertheless, Gu rin did not actually order him not to go, and included in the letter both spiritual and practical advice which would be useful if he did continue with his plan.

But before this reached De Foucauld he decided to take matters into his own hands and leave on the 6 September, although he would return if Gu rin ordered him to. As an apologia he wrote

I do not leave so quickly through lack of obedience to you ... but because the most perfect obedience - and that which makes part of its perfection - allows initiative in certain cases ... If I set out without hesitating, it is because I am ready to come back without hesitating, as easily as I leave, I will return.¹²⁰

Not that he found the going as easy as he made out. For he confided to his cousin that he did not want to leave the situation he knew and he was apprehensive about the future.

If I did not believe with all my strength that words like 'sweet, painful, joy, sacrifice' should be abolished from our vocabulary, I would say that I am a little sad at absenting myself from Beni-Abbès, sad to leave the divine Tabernacle for some time, sad to feel less solitary at the feet of the beloved, anxious about my worthlessness and insufficiency, overwhelmed by my cowardice and incompetence.¹²¹

However, De Foucauld's plans were postponed by deteriorating conditions in the area.¹²² There was an increase in the number of attacks on French convoys and posts, culminating in the attack by nearly 6,000 native troops on the village of Taghit (17-20 August). Although the French were outnumbered 12-1 they held on until reinforcements arrived and routed the opposition, who retired leaving 1,200 dead. As a former soldier, De Foucauld was pleased with the victory, 'the finest feat of arms in Algeria for forty years',¹²³ but as a priest he was sorry he had not been able to be there to minister to the wounded and dying. He had wanted to go but was refused a mount or an official escort.

He determined that in the future he would be independent of bureaucracy.¹²⁴ He would work hard so that he would be fit enough to walk with the minimum amount of baggage so as not to need a mount. He would live simply so as not to need much money, and he would redouble his kindness to everyone so that he would always be able to find a guide (The question of a protective escort does not seem to have occurred to him).

These resolutions were soon to be tested. A week later

some of the enemy took revenge by attacking a convoy. As soon as he heard of the incident, De Foucauld obtained a horse and went off with a guide to attend to the 49 wounded.¹²⁵ He had no escort but was certain that he would get through; perhaps knowing what others believed: he would be respected as a holy man and kept perfectly safe.¹²⁶ He was absent from Beni-Abbès for a month and later left the Fraternity twice to visit the wounded soldiers again.¹²⁷

Meanwhile his thoughts about moving his permanent base oscillated once again. At the end of October he told Huvelin that he permanently renounced his project of travelling and establishing himself deeper in the south, while at the end of November Guérin was told quite plainly, in apparent contrast to De Foucauld's feelings in June, that

My vocation is the enclosure, I should only leave it for an imperative cause ... if you knew how I am a fish out of water when I leave the enclosure ... I am not made to leave it.¹²⁸

Apart from De Foucauld's personal feelings on stability, there were two reasons advanced to support his decision to stay put. Firstly, Beni-Abbès was a central point between Morocco, Algeria and the Saharan outposts, and as such a good place to prepare for the Brothers he hoped would join him. Secondly, he felt that the Moroccan frontier was too disturbed for him to withdraw from it. As he explained to his cousin:

... if there are new battles: I will be near the wounded. If our domination extends to the West, I will try to carry Jesus in his tabernacle there as well; if the status quo continues, I also will go on leading my hermit life silently and in the enclosure.¹²⁹

Yet De Foucauld was ready to do his duty.

I will do all I can, however, if Mgr. Guérin doesn't send any priests to the southern posts, to make a rapid tour each year so that every one may be able to approach the sacraments once a year.¹³⁰

On returning from his third visit to the convalescing soldiers at Taghit and going into retreat he felt that this possibility was actually how things stood. He really was the only priest available. So although he shivered at the thought of leaving Beni-Abbès and throwing himself into journeys 'which are not good for the soul' and 'for which I now have an excessive horror', he concluded 'I feel myself under extreme and ever-growing pressure from within to make this journey'.¹³¹ Unless Huvelin stopped him he would join the convoy that was leaving on 10 January 1904.

There might be danger in going south into unpacified areas, but he did not mention it to Huvelin. Only in his Retreat Notes did he refer in passing to going 'with the sweet hope of fertilising the soil there in giving the Spouse the mark of greatest love',¹³² which was another way of expressing his invariable hope to 'live as if you were going to die a martyr today'.¹³³

What, then, did the experiences of 1903 have on De Foucauld's general understanding of enclosure according to his Rule? His annual retreat for 1904¹³⁴ showed a number of developments, mostly in the direction of greater strictness, although he was not quite so concerned as he had been about surrounding himself with high walls. Instead of slavishly following the prescribed pattern he was to be guided by events and proceed with 'moderate speed' rather than

'excessive eagerness' to complete the enclosure of the buildings and the estate (chapter 7).¹³⁵

Nevertheless, the conditions which high walls were intended to foster and maintain were still to be sought. The virtues of solitude, silence, regularity and stability were specifically mentioned, but their pursuit did not rule out two courses of action. De Foucauld decided to 'talk with unbelievers in a humble and friendly way' and to 'maintain amicable relations with them by means of the alms they asked for, etc.'. ¹³⁶ He was also prepared to go deeper into the interior of the country, to Tidikelt and if possible to Tafilalet, ¹³⁷ but this was not the same thing as undertaking to make a habit of travelling or to move his base permanently. For as well as the strategic importance of Beni-Abbès' position, there was also the nature of its influence to consider.

He asked himself whether the command to 'go into all the world to preach the gospel' meant that he should 'radiate' or move out from Beni-Abbès. He decided that he should stay 'except to carry out grave duties of charity or to establish myself permanently elsewhere: the consecrated Host radiates from here.' ¹³⁸ In other words, De Foucauld believed that the invisible influence of a centrally situated community devoted to prayer was of more value than any visible effects of an open house which was obviously interacting with the world around it. It could conceivably be right to re-site it, but not to change its character.

This being so, he considered how he had been maintaining silence (Chapter 19) and separation from the world (Chapter 20).

On the first he asked, as in 1902, if his conversations and letters were like those of Jesus at Nazareth, and decided that he should generally reduce the length, although not the number, of both, speak more of God and Jesus, discriminating positively in favour of humble folk and cut down conversations with the great; and ask every time that his words be those that Jesus would have used. Lastly, 'in difficulty pray; in doubt, be silent'.¹³⁹

In considering his separation from the world De Foucauld wondered if he was detached enough from material goods and resolved, thinking of Jesus' attitude to Judas, 'to love to be robbed',¹⁴⁰ by people who took advantage of him, and generally hoped to do more for travellers and the poor. He wanted to be more detached both from the past, in being more forgetful and silent about his own history, and also from the present.

Is the rule to ask people from outside never to speak to us of what goes on in the world, kept enough? ... Say when someone speaks to me of worldly or secular things that I only concern myself with God.¹⁴¹

This matter of detachment seemed important to De Foucauld at this time as he decided that this was one of the four chapters¹⁴² of the Rule that he should re-read on the last day of the retreat, and subsequently every Sunday. His general feelings are well summed up in one of the resolutions made at the end of the retreat.

... in cases of doubt: prefer: spiritual exercises to material occupations; presence in front of the Tabernacle to keeping oneself from Him; solitude and silence to company and talk; the advantage of others to my own.¹⁴³

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE POSSIBILITIES

Yet the question of going south with Laperrine's expedition no longer came into the category of 'cases of doubt', so De Foucauld left Beni-Abbès on 13 January 1904, arriving at Tit, the centre of the Hoggar, towards the end of May. During the journey he asked himself how he should live if he could stay in the Touareg country and also wrote notes on how 'monk-missionaries'¹⁴⁴ like himself should conduct themselves on their travels. These latter are especially interesting as they would seem to set out the way of maintaining a spirit of enclosure which enabled De Foucauld to write that 'to be on a journey or in the hermitage hardly changes me, for eyes and heart stay on high, in immense peace'.¹⁴⁵

The notes¹⁴⁶ covered everything from listing the equipment necessary for celebrating mass, or reminding one of the need to take paper, envelopes and stamps, to giving advice on how to relate to the people who would be encountered on such journeys. The ruling principle was 'let the missionaries be alone whenever possible', travel alone and eat alone, except when the good of souls required it. For travelling with convoys was not good for the soul and not many useful conversations were possible as people were in groups which prevented them speaking freely or were too busy with other things to take much in. So during the day journeys should be times of enjoying silence, recollection and prayer. Night was the time for profitable private interviews.

The rule of eating alone appeared to have both negative and positive elements, to be both divisive and integrative.

On one hand the missionary should eat alone and not with the officers 'to lose less time ... in order not to be obliged to listen often to bad talk'¹⁴⁷ - very regrettable discussions can arise at a table shared by missionaries and soldiers -'¹⁴⁸ and so as 'not to lose popular respect by showing their defects',¹⁴⁷

On the other hand this will give them time for 'spiritual exercises and good works' and make them 'more accessible to the poor'. For De Foucauld determined to 'try to be friendly with all, rich and poor; but go, above all and first of all, to the poor according to the Gospel tradition'.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, he laid down that 'when the good of souls requires, the Brothers will eat with the officers',¹⁵⁰ although it was not to be made a regular practice as the expense involved would not be in conformity with poverty, charity, and the imitation of Jesus, besides making the Brothers less independent.

As far as talking with people was concerned, De Foucauld distinguished between what was possible and helpful with different categories in both spiritual and practical realms. One should talk a good deal with Christians and be friendly to all of them, whatever their standing. Only if they ask for advice on family matters should it be given to native soldiers, otherwise 'always speak seriously and gravely to them of heavenly things, never of temporal'.¹⁵¹ The friendship of other natives must first be gained by giving a good example and showing patience and kindness then,

Try to have as much intercourse as possible with them; ... but be discreet, reserved, without excessive eagerness,

so as to draw them to you, rather than go to them; ... don't enter their villages, tents, or houses unnecessarily, unless you are called there...¹⁵²

It is difficult to see whether De Foucauld's caution stemmed from practical wisdom or from nostalgia for his enclosure, perhaps it was a bit of both. Certainly the remarks that followed have the ring of experience.

In speaking to them, take great care not to go too quickly into such matters as are rather new to them. Try to make them ask questions, and lead them to be the first to speak of what you want to talk about... Avoid theological discussions at present; more curiosity than good-will would enter into it; reply briefly, without admitting discussion; keep to natural theology and, except for special reasons, don't set forth Christian dogmas. In most cases, now is the time to say: Cast not your pearls before swine.¹⁵³

Naturally, on reaching the centre of the Hoggar De Foucauld put his thoughts about travelling monks on one side so that he could consider where they should be located when stationary. On the way he had noticed several watering-places that might be suitable for founding a fraternity: In Ziza (1 April), Timissao (6), Abalessa (17 May), Silet (19), Tit (26). Each of them had enough water and fertile land to support a settlement and were more or less important as intersections of desert trails. De Foucauld was quite taken with Timissao¹⁵⁴ as it also had natural caves which Brothers could live in. Another advantage was that although there was enough water to encourage the many passing travellers to stop awhile, there was not enough to make the pasture they needed for their flocks grow adequately. ^{whilst} So, the one or more 'solitaries' living in a cave 50 - 60m from the well and 12 - 15m up in the rock face would make numerous contacts with nomads going from

pasture to pasture, their essential solitude would not be violated by permanent residents.

Attractive as this proposition was, De Foucauld felt he should continue his journey to see if Jesus had some better place in store for him. He thought he had found it when he arrived at Abalessa,¹⁵⁵ where the principal and largest market of the area was held, thus making it a good centre for meeting people. He would do what he had done at Beni-Abbès, establish a fraternity 'not at the heart of the village, but near, in a place a little apart, so as to have the silence of retreat and nearness to souls at the same time.' If possible he would do it 'this year, in a few days if I can',¹⁵⁶ or if he was not allowed to stay there, he would settle at In Amegel or Tit, but not anywhere north of In Amegel.¹⁵⁷

Two days later De Foucauld reached Silet and noted that as it was at an intersection of three routes it would be a good place to found a monastery.¹⁵⁸ Possibly this information was recorded for Guérin's information rather than his own, a foundation at Abalessa being his present concern, but a week later he arrived at Tit and decided that it had even greater advantages than Abalessa. For it was the central intersection of north-south, east-west routes and, on balance, the more fertile of the two places: having more gardens, fruit trees and vegetables, although a little less corn. So from the strategic angle De Foucauld was consciously planning to put himself in the way of as many people as possible, although from his personal point of view he was still tempted to keep his distance.

When he examined the terrain at Tit he was torn between two possible sites for a settlement.¹⁵⁹ Should he build by the river, making use of a cave and natural shelters in the crags, or squeeze an oratory (1m 40 x 2m 10) on the summit of the gare about 120m above the valley? The first would be much easier to construct but it would be near people and exposed to a great number of visits; while the second would be far from men and noise and would procure solitude with God.

However attractive the second option may have been, De Foucauld decided he should try to achieve the first, thus combining the perfection of imitating Christ and the perfection of charity, for

... it is love which should make you inwardly recollected in me, and not separation from my children: see me in them, and like me at Nazareth, live near them, lost in God.¹⁶⁰

In this case it would be love and not high walls which maintained the values of the cloister, the enclosure having become interiorised.

A reflection of De Foucauld's changed attitude is to be found in the long note which he added to the account of his 1904 travels about establishing 'missions of Fathers and houses of Sisters' at ten important points along the route he had taken.¹⁶¹ As the total number of people required for the scheme was over 100, it is probable that he was intending that Guérin should provide the personnel if his dream was ever going to be put into practice,¹⁶² although the idea of establishing each nucleus of five Fathers or Sisters (later to be joined by a similar sized group of the

opposite sex) at two-monthly intervals would seem to guarantee that De Foucauld's plan remained a dream.

However, the project itself is interesting in showing that he was able to consider combining the concepts of medium and small, closed and open communities in one overall scheme. There were to be eight centres (in Amedjel, Tit, Abalessa, Tazerouk, Tamanrasset, Ideles, Dehin) which would eventually house five men and five women. Another, Timissao, would only need three Fathers (because the cave wasn't suitable for Sisters?), while Silet was to be the principal house in this chain.

De Foucauld envisaged that there would be at least ten Fathers and ten Sisters there to look after an agricultural colony, orphanage, and hospital. In addition, as soon as their number could be increased to 14, while five Fathers always remained at Silet, the others would go out in groups of three to live continually with the nomads, and follow them in their wanderings. This was to go on as long as required. 'Experience will show if this can carry on thus or if something more is necessary'.¹⁶³ As such activities as superintending agricultural colonies, orphanages and hospitals were forbidden to the Petit Frères, it would be idle to ask how much De Foucauld would have involved himself in that side of the scheme, but the question of how much wandering with the nomads he was prepared to do can be considered. It would seem that he now saw it as a valid possibility, although not as a permanent feature of his own life. For a few weeks after visiting Tit he showed his openness to doing God's will in a letter to Henry

de Castries¹⁶⁴ about the life he was engaged in - making friends, chatting, distributing medicines and alms, giving hospitality, so as to demonstrate that all men were brothers in God. Then^{came} the question. When was he going to return to Beni-Abbès? He didn't know, it was up to God.

Perhaps in October, perhaps not again. I am a slave, a slave of Jesus. My ordinary vocation is solitude, stability, silence. But if I believe myself, exceptionally, to be called at times to something else, I have only to say 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord'. Love always obeys when it has God for its object.¹⁶⁵

All the same, he thought that this kind of life was going to be a temporary one, as he told Havelin a month later.

I live from day to day¹⁶⁶. as long as I can stay usefully in this country and others cannot come to replace me, I will stay there ... I take this as a rule: to do the things which I believe to be very useful to souls and which circumstances don't allow others to do ... At the moment I am a tent-dwelling nomad there, changing continually from place to place: this is very good for beginnings, as this makes me see much of the country and the people, but when I can establish myself in a fixed residence in some place I will do so, for I believe this is my vocation and journeys should only be incidental for me.¹⁶⁷

TAKING STOCK

In October 1904 De Foucauld was not certain what the future might hold, but he believed that he would stay at Beni-Abbès for some time, although this could be short if Mgr. Guérin told him to return to Tourag country, as he suspected he would.¹⁶⁸ But after his annual retreat¹⁶⁹ De Foucauld changed his mind and concluded that he was going back to Beni-Abbès to stay there, and that Guérin would send other and better people to make settlements in the

southern districts he had visited. The only reason that De Foucauld would move, he told himself, would be to transfer the fraternity westwards towards the unevangelised millions of Morocco.¹⁷⁰ Other journeys, whether westwards or in any other direction, to French garrisons or to Touareg settlements, were not permissible. For the soldiers came back from the outposts every year, and the other places were the responsibility of the White Fathers.¹⁷¹ In general, he should not easily be persuaded that

... besides the journeys prescribed by the Rule others may be more useful to the glory of God than the presence of a priest at the fraternity, and that they may be wished by God of me in preference to the ordinary practice of the life of Nazareth to which he has called me. Only admit with great difficulty that God may wish these journeys of me.

2. If there are two of us, always take my Brother with me.
3. If we are more than two, do not accept any longer that God may wish these journeys, unless they have the purpose of the probable transfer of the fraternity to another place that appears wished by God. In this case, leave alone or with other Brothers, according to the circumstances.

4. In every journey, be absent from the fraternity for the shortest time possible.¹⁷²

It is interesting to notice the contradiction between the first and second points. If the important thing was for there to be a priest at the fraternity at all times, it might be expected that De Foucauld would be ready to travel alone. But, in carrying out the requirements of his Rule, he directed that he should take the other brother with him. Only in the event of moving the fraternity somewhere else did he envisage the possibility of going by himself.

Paradoxically enough, it was only the possibility of transferring the fraternity westwards that persuaded De Foucauld to stay at Beni-Abbès, for, as he realised in his assessment of 1902-1904,¹⁷³ it was getting more and more difficult to follow his Rule there as he would have liked. He felt that there was 'not enough solitude' at Beni-Abbès, and that the natives and particularly the French were too near.¹⁷⁴ The only solution was either to wait 8-10 years for the garrison to be transferred somewhere else, or else to move the fraternity.¹⁷⁵ The latter course of action would solve more than one problem, as De Foucauld could go to a

... place more solitary, more hidden, less exposed to obtrusive visits, more favourable to manual work, more apart from native and French inhabitants, more easy of access for the Brothers.¹⁷⁶

But he decided to stay where he was, partly as 8-10 years wasn't very long to wait, partly because he hoped to move the fraternity westwards to Morocco.¹⁷⁷ If that were possible he would go 'at once'.¹⁷⁸ No doubt there was an unconscious wish at work here that he should return to the land he had explored twenty years previously, but the reasons he gave are all evangelistic. It was of strategic importance to penetrate as far as possible into non-Christian countries both for paving the way for other foundations, and for making an impact.

The deeper they are in the interior, the more their radiance is extended. (They are known, spoken of further away; they have more contacts: the comings and goings of the religious who go there often become apostolic tours).¹⁷⁹

Another, though lesser, question also arose. Should he be doing anything else to establish the Petits Frères and the Petites Soeurs? The query was answered as briefly as it was asked. De Foucauld said 'No', but it is significant that there is a beginning of a move away from the categorical rule of silence applied in the 1902 retreat.

Are those not grounds for seeking a prayer union involving the greatest possible number of pious souls, to help, by these prayers, the Petits Frères and Petites Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, in their work for the salvation of souls? Answer. No: not now. We shall see later. At the moment be content to recommend the people we are with to already existing prayer associations.¹⁸⁰

On silence in general, he resolved anew during the retreat to keep the rules (Chapter 19) about it, especially those bearing on his behaviour to outsiders and when on journeys. There should be prayer before writing any letter, and he should not get mixed up in any subject if his advice had not been asked for. Whether journeying or settled, he should be more recollected and silent: 'unless God's will is to the contrary, keeping myself apart from everything which is not him'.¹⁸¹

As far as conversations with outsiders were concerned, he had to work out¹⁸² whether he could speak to them (in order to establish 'friendship for the good of their souls') about their everyday occupations: about secular jobs or the responsibilities of public office. De Foucauld aimed to speak as much as possible about God, or if he can't, of subjects likely to lead his questioner in that direction 'family, the poor, good to be done, good things generally,' and also to take an interest in his personal affairs

to prove that De Foucauld really cared for him. But the old ban against speaking of politics, his past life, worldly matters, and material things which can be avoided, remained.¹⁸³ If confidences about work were offered, they should be received kindly; but he should not get mixed up in them or give advice not directly asked for or absolutely required through charity. As quickly as possible the conversation should be turned to higher things, especially if he did not see the person concerned very often.¹⁸⁴

The principle to be followed was the example of Jesus.

De Foucauld considered that

Not a word in the Gospel shows him doing good to men in occupying himself with their material or political worldly affairs; everything there shows him lifting them above them and teaching them to seek not the kingdoms of the earth and their glory and riches, but the kingdom of God and his righteousness. At his example, do not do the inferior good of helping them in their worldly affairs, for this prevents us from doing them a very superior one, which can be done only by those who 'lifted above the earth' through mortification, living by faith, hope and charity, are entirely lost in Jesus through love, imitation, obedience, and total union of the will.¹⁸⁵

Thus De Foucauld has not moved from his basic position, although he has slightly relaxed his attitude of 'I only occupy myself with God', to allow for the giving of advice in certain circumstances. In order to be able to do this, he himself must be detached from the world, but there is now room for the idea of being in the world but not of it, instead of being completely shut away from it.

As it happens, an indication of how this policy worked out in practice was given soon after the retreat was completed. De Foucauld had just received a letter¹⁸⁶ from the Moorish chief who had saved his life and given him generous hospitality when he was

travelling in Morocco disguised (inadequately) as a Jew, 21 years earlier. The Moor wished his action to be brought to the notice of the French ambassador at Tangiers so that his long-standing friendship towards the French would be proved. He could see which way the wind was blowing and was to be vindicated when Morocco was annexed in 1912.

De Foucauld was happy to repay his personal debt - an earlier recommendation forwarded by him to the authorities had never reached its goal - and, as a Frenchman, he was pleased to note that the letter showed

... minds going over to our side, considering our arrival, foreseen for some years, as imminent and expecting of us the security and peace which has been lacking so long in Morocco,¹⁸⁷

Although, as a monk, he did feel a slight need to justify his involvement to Henry de Castries, whom he asked to act on his behalf.

... forgive this long business letter: I had rather speak to you only of the good God: but these affairs are those of the good God: DEUS CARITAS EST; and all which tends to unite souls in brotherhood, in love, is the business of the good God.¹⁸⁸

On another occasion De Foucauld had to weigh up the conflicting interests of various people in considering his policy of enclosure. On one hand there were the permanent residents of the fraternity: the young boy Paul who served at mass and the old blind woman Marie, and on the other, the endless flow of visitors. In order to do the best for both he decided 'not to receive Muslim guests, to preserve for Paul and Marie the environment and state of mind I wish for them ... I restrict myself to giving alms to strangers, to the poor, at the door'.¹⁸⁹

MOVING ON

At the end of January 1905 De Foucauld still believed that he should stay at Beni-Abbès,¹⁹⁰ but in mid April he asked Huvelin whether he should accept Laperrine's pressing invitation to spend another summer on a tour round Touareg territory. It was an attractive invitation, but how could it fit in with his vocation and a strict following of the Rule? Surely it was a temptation to abandon it? Yet no other priest was able to go, so he could make an exception on the same grounds as the previous year. But

if this country is closed at the moment to other priests, it is certain that if the Apostolic Prefect wishes it, he will find ways to penetrate it from here in a few months time... My abstention is only a short delay.¹⁹¹

He would prefer to stay where he was and was adamant that no other consideration could make him think of leaving his enclosure, certainly concern for his own health was not to be countenanced. Good monks would never do that.

The enclosure is one's element, one's home while waiting for heaven. One lives there, dies there, is healthy, is sick there as God pleases. One leaves it for the service of God when their are serious reasons, for the reason of health, never.¹⁹²

Yet despite his expressed preference, De Foucauld went with Laperrine two days after receiving a dispatch from Guérin inviting him to do so.¹⁹³ En route he wrote to Huvelin again, but this time to ask which of three options he should follow when the trip ended in October. Should he return to Beni-Abbès for good, settle permanently with the Touareg, or live for both, 'dividing myself for a few years, as an exception to my general

vocation of the hidden life, between Beni-Abbès and the Touareg, until circumstances show that I can return to silence and the enclosure, either at Beni-Abbès or with the Touareg'.¹⁹⁴

From his present journey he was inclined to the latter course of action, although he was concerned about the life of fraternising with the Touareg being 'very exterior' and about the expense involved. But it was attractive particularly if a permanent settlement could be made among them. He also hoped to obtain a companion who could be permanently resident there, so that after a few trips between the two places De Foucauld could settle down as before at one or the other, though preferably at Beni-Abbès.¹⁹⁵

3 - FURTHER LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE:
LIFE AT TAMANRASSET (1905 - 1916)

DIGGING IN AGAIN

As De Foucauld travelled towards Tamanrasset in July 1905 he was really upset that he didn't have time on his journey to read or pray for the hours he was accustomed to, while getting to know the Touareg and studying their language. Although he saw the latter as the best means to prepare the way for the missionaries who would follow him, and therefore that it must be more wished by God than the former, he was still perturbed: "I often ask myself if the impossibility of combining the two things is a real one or only the result of my indifference."¹⁹⁶

It was not that language study was a 'secular' or unsuitable occupation, for back in February he had been happy to replace the manual work at Beni-Abbès by the copying out of studies made during the travels of 1904. Yet that had been possible within the context of a 'monastic and solitary life'.¹⁹⁷ The problem here was that he was outside that context.

It seems that it was only three years later that De Foucauld recognised that the reality of the situation had to be faced and adjusted his rule to suit.

I have made it a rule to recapture in the periods in which nothing prevents me from leading a perfectly regular life the time stolen, in other periods, from purely spiritual things ... It appears to me that this rule should obviously be adopted, however I'm telling you it, so that, if I'm mistaken, you may warn me.¹⁹⁸

Was he just being formally obedient? Or wasn't he absolutely convinced? While there may be more than a shadow of truth in the

first assumption, there is also substance in the second. For whenever De Foucauld finished a journey and returned to his hermitage at Tamanrasset he was happy to inform his correspondents that he had taken up a regular life once again. This was to be as true in 1913¹⁹⁹ as it was in 1907²⁰⁰ before he had recognised that adjustments to the rule had to be accepted.

But to return to his thoughts in 1905 immediately preceeding the foundation of his Tamanrasset hermitage. A long passage in the diary entry for July 22 was devoted to the question of his rule of life, but it didn't really add anything new to what he had decided the year before; although it stated the primacy - at least for the moment - of the Nazareth life and the subservience of the Rule to it, more emphatically. In particular, while he still wished to live a cloistered life, an enclosure was not an absolutely necessary part of his environment.

... until there is a real possibility of perfectly leading the life of a Petit Frère and Petite Soeur in a Nazareth which has enclosure, take the life of Nazareth as the objective ... until the Petits Frères and the Petites Soeurs are properly established have, for example, ... no enclosure ... no dwelling far from every inhabited place, but near a village ...²⁰¹

There is a note here of flexibility, of the provisional, which recurs in his letters on the subject of settling at Tamanrasset. De Foucauld was going to establish himself for some indeterminate time 'without making plans',²⁰² partly because decisions were up to Huvelin and Guérin, partly since 'so many events happen unexpectedly and one foresees the future so little'.²⁰³ But he would still like to be fixed permanently and confided to his Diary thoughts of the possibility of establishing himself there

'for ever'. The place appealed to him as a village of only 20 homes away from all important centres.

I don't think that there is ever likely to be a garrison, telegraph station, or a European here: it will be long before there is any mission: I choose this abandoned place, and here I stick.²⁰⁴

Although, when he went on to think of the needs of others he wanted the population to be enlarged by such useful individuals as 'a nurseryman; a well-sinker; a doctor; a few women weavers of wool, cotton, and camel-hair; then one or two traders in cotton goods, hardware, sugar, and salt ...'²⁰⁵

These observations were in line with the enthusiastic recommendations that De Foucauld had made when he first arrived at Beni-Abbès,²⁰⁶ and those when he arrived at the end of his 1904 tour of the South.²⁰⁷ In all three cases the fruition of his plans would have destroyed the environment he preferred. Indeed, De Foucauld had felt over-crowded at Beni-Abbès without any of his schemes for social welfare or education being put into operation and influencing the increase in population. One wonders if he would also have found it necessary to move on from Tamanrasset if the situation repeated itself; however, as General Nieger was to comment later,²⁰⁸ De Foucauld was far readier to be personally inconvenienced by the Touareg than by the French.

As it turned out, De Foucauld was to be unsuccessful in his efforts to encourage any Catholics to come over from France to fill these positions; although Tamanrasset did improve its economic circumstances over the next ten years. Looking back in April 1916, he was to write 'When I arrived there were two tiny houses and fifty

huts; now there are eighty houses and not one hut - and it is like that with everything else!'²⁰⁹ In some ways this made him happy, for as the nomads began to settle down and bring more land under cultivation they acquired some defence against periods of drought. But De Foucauld was sad that this material improvement was largely the result of the efforts of Moussa Ag Amastane,²¹⁰ the Touareg chief, in 1907 - 8. For although it was probably De Foucauld's own detailed advice given two years previously²¹¹ that prompted Moussa to undertake such measures, it became clear that the amenokal also wished to govern the Hoggar as a Muslim country, and make Tamanrasset its religious centre, thus turning the nominally Muslim Touareg firmly towards Islam and away from both Christianity and France.²¹²

As De Foucauld began his stay at Tamanrasset these developments lay in the future, although - no doubt from his experiences in Morocco - he was probably aware of the possibilities. Certainly he started to become outward-acting as well as outward-thinking, for far from living behind walls he was engaged in going out to break them down. For De Foucauld hoped to begin through friendship to undermine the walls of suspicion and ignorance which separated the French from the Touareg.²¹³ Taking the initiative in making contacts was his current policy, although his own preference for the solitary life continued unabated. He had taken the initiative in going to live at Tamanrasset, but as yet that was as far as he went, he was available but not intrusive, considering himself a hermit rather than a missionary.

When my poor neighbours wish to see me they find me; the rest of the time I am alone with the best company, the good God, a tête-à-tête of which one does not weary.²¹⁴

In fact, so much did he enjoy being in 'this lost hamlet where I will often be for six months or more without seeing a letter or a French face',²¹⁵ that he asked Huvelin whether he should stay there for ever.

I am much tempted by it, I have the desired Nazareth, what more is there to seek? What I would do elsewhere, Father Guérin can, if he wishes, get done through others, and get it done better!²¹⁶

But if Huvelin wished him to keep the Beni-Abbès fraternity and divide his time between the two places, how was he to travel? His policy up to now had been to make a priority of saying mass every day; secondly to travel 'fast enough to regain a life of solitude as soon as possible', and lastly to contact the natives by distributing alms as he went. But all this involved expense - which eventually fell on his relatives - for to fulfil the first objective he needed a camel (for his servant who assisted at mass), to meet the second he required another (for himself). Should any of these principles be abandoned or modified so as to reduce costs? Which was more important, to say mass every day or to imitate Jesus' poverty and discretion?

The same letter also outlined a scheme of taking Moussa Ag Amastane on a visit to France. Not as a tourist to be impressed by culture or the march of technology, but to meet Christian people for the good of his soul. De Foucauld suggested that he should stay for a fortnight with his sister, a few days in Paris with the White Fathers and a few days at Notre-Dame des Neiges.

This would be a new departure for De Foucauld as he recognised, being careful to distinguish between the idea of the expedition, which he thought a good one, and the question of himself undertaking it. In a few years time Guérin would be able to find someone else to do it, but if he was asked to go he would, although he should not take the initiative. 'I consider that it is not up to me to leave Nazareth, to make him travel in the world'.²¹⁷

Nevertheless, De Foucauld was taking the initiative in suggesting the idea in the first place.

Huvelin's reply²¹⁸ was clear and succinct. Beni-Abbès should not be abandoned as De Foucauld could still do good there, but he should travel as quickly as possible. The proposed trip to France did not appeal to him, but if others thought it a good idea and fear of travelling was De Foucauld's only reason for not going, it should be undertaken.

Meanwhile, before this advice could reach him, De Foucauld had made his annual retreat for 1906 and decided that the journey to France would have to be forgotten for the time being. The greater need was for him to make his settlement have a lasting impression on the Touareg by allowing plenty of time for friendships to be formed with them. So he would stay there until October, then go north to Beni-Abbès (hoping to see Guérin between Christmas and Easter), returning around 15 May 1907.²¹⁹ This division of time between the two centres would continue as long as Guérin could send no other priests to either region, and would normally involve staying six months at Tamanrasset and three at Beni-Abbès.

The other three months of the year would be spent travelling. Such journeys would be useful 'for they take place not in the desert, but in populated areas'.²²⁰

Thus the next 17 months were - subject to Huvelin's approval and Jesus' guidance - mapped out, although De Foucauld did modify his plans slightly in developing his positive appreciation of journeys. He would make a place for others, resolving 'to make some visits to the villages and encampments of the region to go to those who don't come to me enough', and to accept proposals to go with the officers again on journeys to distant parts of the Sahara as 'it is a means to see many natives'.²²¹

It turned out that although Guérin approved of the idea of taking a Touareg to France, he did not think it a practical proposition in the currently unsettled situation. So De Foucauld took this, along with Huvelin's and his own feelings, as a sign that the plan should be shelved,²²² although it was to remain in his thoughts and eventually be executed in 1913. De Foucauld also followed Huvelin's advice in planning to return every year or 18 months to Beni-Abbès, although he still couldn't help asking himself if it wouldn't be better, sooner or later, to stay permanently at Tamanrasset 'like St. Magdalene at the Sainte-Baume, without doing anything else than adoring Jesus'.²²³ Yet he dismissed this as a temptation, realising that too long an absence from Beni-Abbès and the French outposts would nullify the progress he had been able to make. On the other hand he hadn't yet done much at Tamanrasset, so he would have to make his journey as quickly as possible and return as soon as he could, not only to

consolidate his work but also to regain the desert. As he told his cousin

It is hard for me to travel, and to leave this solitude and this silence, but the will of the Beloved, whatever it be, should not only be preferred but adored, cherished and blessed without measure; ...²²⁴

Nevertheless, the same letter informed her that he was planning to fulfil his resolution by preceeding the trek to Beni-Abbes with a month's sojourn in nearby nomadic camps, two or three days journey away from Tamanrasset. This was to be undertaken with his friend and fellow-scholar Motylinski who was spending the summer with him studying Tamachek.²²⁵

Although De Foucauld could not foresee it, a busy ten months with much coming and going was in store for him. He left for Beni-Abbes on 12 September 1906, arriving 3 November after a week's pause at In Salah and three days spent at Adrar with Laperrière and other military friends.²²⁶ Then after three weeks at his old fraternity (including an extra three days stay on account of a visit by General Lyauty) he went off to the White Fathers' house at Maison-Carée, where he was delighted to be given a young mass servant, Brother Michele. They left on 10 December en route for Tamanrasset, pausing at Beni-Abbes to celebrate mass on Christmas Day, and at Adrar to see Laperrine again. Then a whole month was spent at In Salah, where De Foucauld purchased a hut, constructed a chapel and worked constantly at his studies of the Touareg language, aided by a certain M'ahmed Ben Messis.²²⁷ The only cloud over all this activity was the fact that Brother Michele could not

match up to De Foucauld's personal standards and had to be sent back. The older man's private judgement was brief and hard: 'excessive weakness of mind, soul, body and virtues',²²⁸ but it would seem that he was not as upset as when Paul²²⁹ left Tamanrasset nine months previously.

Two reasons may be suggested for this. The first is that he had more or less abandoned the idea of training any Brothers. If he was to have companions they would have to be mature colleagues. So the only result of Brother Michele's departure was that De Foucauld could no longer say mass. The second consideration is that pre-evangelistic language study was gradually replacing fraternity-founding as De Foucauld's main concern. Certainly, when he left on 18 March with a French detachment going south he took Ben Messis with him and went on collecting information for his grammar and lexicon. He also made himself popular by offering to give a coin for every verse of poetry he was offered by the nomads they visited.²³⁰

And yet ... when De Foucauld came at last, on 2 July, to within four days journey of his Tamanrasset hermitage, he thought again of his vocation and made it clear to Guérin - once again - that although their work overlapped, it was not identical.

I considered the establishment at In Salah as a great blessing, rather thinking of the future and of you than of myself. No doubt in going to and fro I shall spend more time there than in the past, and shall try to have some intercourse with the poor and accustom them to have confidence in the marabout, but I am a monk and not a missionary, made for silence, not for preaching; and in order to have influence in In Salah, there must be intercourse and going about and visiting, which is not my vocation: I only try to prepare the way a little for what will be your work.²³¹

The whole year was considered in De Foucauld's retreat for 1908. It produced no new resolutions. He was in a more stable situation than before so he merely felt that he should seek to keep the ones he had made in previous years better, although he ought to take particular notice of four matters: abjection, prayer, the cross, and 'enclosure as my special vocation'.²³² 1907 had included a long journey that he had not foreseen, although as he managed to use it to make many contacts with the Touareg he felt that God's blessing had been on it. Nevertheless, it was an exception and he wanted to keep his travelling to a minimum.

Without wishing to take too firm a resolution, and leaving direction to the good God, I see for myself no other journeys to make in the future except the annual going and coming from Beni-Abbès to Tamanrasset and inversely. What I see are rapidly completed journeys and immediately on arrival, my regular life of prayer and manual work.²³³

Delayed at the end of the year by work on the Touareg lexicon, he thought he would leave Tamanrasset after the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February) 'to travel with the Holy Family fleeing to Egypt'.²³⁴ This coincidence of journeys in the liturgical year and his own life apparently appealed to him and made it easier to fit these exceptions to his cloistered life into a legitimating framework, as he wrote to a friend the following year.

By vocation, I ought to be living a hidden life in solitude, not talking and travelling. On the other hand some travelling is required of me by the needs of the souls in these lands where I am alone - so long as there are no other workers here. I am trying to reconcile these two things. I have two hermitages a thousand miles apart. Every year I spend three months in the northern one, six months in the southern one and three months coming and going. When I am in one of the hermitages, I live there as an enclosed monk, trying to build for myself a life of work and prayer - the life of Nazareth. On my journeys,

I think of the flight into Egypt and the annual journeys of the holy family to Jerusalem. Both at my hermitages and when travelling, I try to make contact as much as possible with the native peoples.²³⁵

The last sentence of this quotation suggests that De Foucauld was taking more initiative than previously in relating to people and not distinguishing between the aims of both states of his existence. Perhaps, to himself, he was. But from his assertion 'I am monk, not missionary, made for silence, not for speech',²³⁶ it will be seen that the change was more apparent than real. He did not see that he had conflicting rôles, he only had one. He was a monk wherever he went. His statement was partly born of a change of attitude, partly because he was now in an environment more to his liking, with less pressures on him. Although he could write about being interrupted like a monastery porter by knocks on the door, in actual fact there were hardly any visitors compared with the 60-100 he used to get daily at Beni-Abbès. Visits from the French were few and far between, from July to November only one Christian had come and stayed for no more than a week.²³⁷ Nor did much news get through to disturb his tranquility, although that was not a cause of pleasure to him. Interruptions to the postal service produced the comment 'I consider that long; so many things can happen in two months.'²³⁸

Considering his isolation, it is not surprising that De Foucauld described his life as incomparably peaceful 'in an enclosure - imaginary and without walls but real, at the foot of the most holy Sacrament',²³⁹ and 'a regular life in consequence, as solitude allows me to lead it as in a monastery'.²⁴⁰ Yet he did

not leave his imaginary enclosure. He would not go more than a hundred metres from the hermitage except to visit the seriously ill. The others had to come to see him,²⁴¹ although that meant walking only another two or three hundred metres.^{This was} not much more than a symbolic separation, but it maintained his identity as a missionary-monk rather than a missionary.

LIBERATION ... OR METAMORPHOSIS?

However, De Foucauld was not to spend the rest of his days in his new nest. For one thing, he still thought of taking Moussa to France; for another, his sister and brother-in-law went on asking him to come to see them. Their request met with a severe response:

It is necessary to wait for the good God himself to show that it is a duty. One only does good on condition that one does his will ... These family visits are radically contrary to monastic law, but in leaving La Trappe, I embraced a state more and not less severe than that of La Trappe, furthermore, they are a very bad example.²⁴²

Seeking God's will meant, for De Foucauld, asking Huvelin, and the latter answered 'I see no objection to your journey, with or without Touareg',²⁴³ which showed where his sympathies lay. Though, in order to anticipate De Foucauld's scruples, he added that the trip might enable him to publicise his work, a consideration which carried more weight and turned out to be De Foucauld's only justification for making the journey, as it transpired that he could not take the Touareg that year.²⁴⁴ The only other mention of enclosure in De Foucauld's Retreat Notes probably dates from around 1909.²⁴⁵ It allowed him to make journeys prescribed by the

Rule and any which were more to God's glory than his staying put, with two provisos: one old, the other new. In the first case no other priest must be able or willing to go. In the second, De Foucauld must not have taken a vow of enclosure or be prevented by some higher duty.

These resolutions were significant in that the higher duty was not specified. There was no mention, for instance, that the hidden life of Nazareth had to be imitated come what may. This was also the first time that De Foucauld admitted to himself something that had been true since 1897. He was not in fact bound by a vow of enclosure, even though he had been living as though he was.

Why the change in his self-perception? If the undated notes do belong to the period suggested, it may be supposed that the new factor involved was De Foucauld's first visit to France. For the 1909 Retreat had been started the previous December but only completed in June during his journey back to Tamanrasset.²⁴⁶ He arrived on the 11th, having left the hermitage on Christmas Day 1908, set foot in Marseille on 17 February and re-embarked on 8 March, regaining Beni-Abbès three weeks later.²⁴⁷ There was a lot to do in France after nearly eight years absence. De Foucauld spent a busy three weeks seeing his relatives, his bishop and Huvelin: the latter counselling him, among many other things, to found two more hermitages, at Asekrem and in the Adrar,²⁴⁸ dividing his year between the Ahaggar and Beni-Abbès 'travelling slowly in inhabited districts, very quickly in others.'²⁴⁹

Later in the year he admitted that his way of life had slightly changed, although there is a hint that his concept of enclosure now encompasses the whole Sahara.

Alone for a vast expanse, for a 2,000 km diameter circle, I divide myself between several hermitages situated in different parts of this space, passing some time in each of them every year, living there a little less cloistered than I was, and seeing, while travelling from one to the other, part of the population I don't during my sojourns.²⁵⁰

The second trip to France occurred two years afterwards and followed a similar pattern, De Foucauld being absent from Taman-rasset from 2 January - 3 May.²⁵¹ But it was not until 1913 that he was able to realise his ambition of taking a Touareg with him. This time the journey was undertaken four months later, partly because his companion was going to get married at the beginning of April, and partly so that he should enjoy the summer in France rather than brave the winter damp and cold. As before, De Foucauld's purpose in launching himself on this affair was quite clear, even if rather naïve in its conclusion about the general standing of religion.

It goes without saying, there is to be no paying of visits to museums or curiosities; he must be made to partake of the sweetness and affectionate atmosphere of family life in Christian society, and be given a glimpse of what Christian life is, and be shown how religion impregnates the whole of life.²⁵²

Their travels did, however, include a visit to Switzerland²⁵³ so that Ouksem could see its lakes and mountains, although this was fitted into De Foucauld's itinerary for making useful contacts regarding the Prayer Union he was trying to establish. An interesting link with his past was also made. On 24 July La Croix

published an article on 'Father de Foucauld, Moroccan explorer',²⁵⁴ and during his visits to Paris he met M. Boudarie, the permanent secretary of the Académie des Sciences Coloniales and director of the Revue Indigène. De Foucauld's purpose was to seek support for scientific, educational and charitable work among the Touareg, but the latter was interested in persuading him to republish Reconnaissance au Maroc. Cleverly side-stepping De Foucauld's well-known aversion to drawing attention to himself, he appealed to the patriot in him, maintaining that the former explorer had

... an obligation to render a new service to France, at the time when Morocco opens itself to our influence, in providing our officers with a 'work-tool' which would make their task easy.²⁵⁵

A year later De Foucauld agreed, although the First World War was to delay publication for another 20 years.

This third trip to France (27 April - 22 November) was twice as long as the others,²⁵⁶ a fact that De Foucauld recognised in a letter to his sister which combined a statement of principle with one of gratitude.

Unless in exceptional circumstances, a missionary does not spend a long time of rest with his relatives. In Ouksem's voyage God provided such an exceptional circumstance, I thank Him for it with my whole heart ...²⁵⁷

cautious acceptance of a mitigation of his principles in De Foucauld's manner, but also almost the last occasion on which he was concerned about the matter. Once this pattern of trips had been established by the experience of the first two, and the clear direction by Father Voillard that he should go to France every two years,²⁵⁸ De Foucauld seems to have had no more qualms about making them. In fact, only a week after returning from the 1913 visit, he told

Henry de Castries that he was planning to go back to France in 1915,²⁵⁹ although the outbreak of war caused him to abandon this project. His services not being required at the Front, he decided to remain at Tamanrasset with the Touareg for the duration.²⁶⁰

Even after the first trip De Foucauld had been a little more relaxed about the subject of enclosure and journeys. In September 1909 he had spent a fortnight with Laperrine visiting neighbouring villages of the Atakor region within 120 km radius of Tamanrasset. The following April he again accompanied Laperrine on a similar trip²⁶¹ which included visiting a general assembly of the Ahaggar chiefs and 500 of their camel-borne troops, a gathering symbolising the natives' loyalty to the French after so many years opposition. However, De Foucauld was quick to point out 'My life is in no way changed, cloistered life at Tamanrasset, I have absented myself only twice',²⁶² as if to convince himself and others that his life was marked by a continuity dating back to the day he became a monk, twenty years previously.

He also affirmed²⁶³ - in a phrase reminiscent of his 1902 statement that 'What I tell you of this country holds little place in my life, it is the fruit of my conversations with the officers' - that visitors 'change nothing in my life but you see that I am far from being isolated'. He had 'constant visits from the French', though that statement needs to be taken in context. One visitor was only potential: Laperrine was expected in two or three months time. The others came to the enormous total of three. Dr. Hérisson, the protestant army doctor, was staying some weeks. A

secretary of the bureau arabe had been with De Foucauld for ten days. Captain Nieger dropped in frequently.

Perhaps Nieger's later reflections²⁶⁴ shed some light on De Foucauld's exaggeration, as well as giving a general picture of how much the latter still felt that 'a monk out of his cloister was a fish out of water'.

The first point made by Nieger was that the quantity of letters and documents left behind by De Foucauld masked the fact that for several years after settling at Tamanrasset, until monthly couriers were established between Algeria and the Sudan, he would neither meet nor hear from his military friends more than occasionally. Nor, when conditions changed, did he want the situation at Beni-Abbès to be repeated.

Four years after his settlement, when Laperrine had decided to create a military post in the Ahaggar, 50 km from Tamanrasset, the Father systematically refused to establish himself in the immediate proximity. More than that, finding that contacts were becoming too frequent, he tried to avoid them. He constructed a new hermitage, today a place of pilgrimage, in the heart of the mountains, on Asekroum,²⁶⁵ at a height of 2,900 m, far from every route of communication, from every regular track; at 500 m higher than the nearest place for water.

He only sought contacts with us again when they were useful to the cause. His benevolence ill-concealed his impatience in tolerating purposeless visits. His indulgence and his patience were proportioned: without equal for the small and the humble; they became attenuated with the grades of intellectual level in his questioners.²⁶⁶

However, 'When circumstances obliged him to live with us, he cheerfully took part in our conversation', although he kept silent if the subject took an improper turn, except in one case:

'Only attacks on the fundamental principles of morality exasperated him. He did not permit them, even in the shape of flashes of wit.'²⁶⁷

'But ultimately', concluded Nieger,

... the law of his relations with his Saharan compatriots can be expressed in this rather crude formula. Foucauld only willingly let his solitude be violated in favour of the Touareg, that is to say, his apostolate. What he was capable of, when his apostolate was at stake, can be measured by the obstinacy with which he sought to attract Frenchmen and Frenchwomen to the Ahaggar although they would inevitably have troubled his tranquility and upset his existence. I do not wish to speak only of the monks and nuns that he dreamed of directing, following strict and hard rules, almost those which he imposed on himself. He made desperate efforts to obtain the settlement of lay people near him: scientists, artists, male and female teachers, nurses. He anticipated through their action a more rapid evolution of his flocks. But to abdicate from his dear isolation required an effort of renunciation and abnegation from him. I cannot forget that, pointing one particular evening to the surroundings of his poor hut, he stated 'I have a horror of the world and its hypocrisy'. Evidently it was of our world that he wished to speak. I can't believe that he attributed to the Touareg, whose faults and vices he knew perfectly, a level of morality superior to ours. However, it is incontrovertible that he lived for them and appeared happy in their midst.²⁶⁸

Certainly, on returning from his second trip to France and writing the celebrated letter to Father Antonin²⁶⁹ which gives his last thoughts on the difference between the life of the Petits Frères and the Trappist regime, De Foucauld concentrated almost exclusively on the Touareg. There was no mention of being an official or unofficial garrison chaplain as at the beginning of his life in the Sahara (Although it was always secondary to his concern for unbelievers, and no doubt partly used as a credible justification for him being allowed in the military zone at all). As a missionary-monk 'living among forsaken peoples and doing everything possible for their conversion', he considered that his work would only be 'sometimes with Christians.'²⁷⁰

The same letter is more interesting in regard to enclosure

and journeys in the fact that it said so little on these subjects. De Foucauld considered that some Brothers would partly or almost totally replace manual work by apostolic work on a one-to-one counselling basis. It would be like being a monastery porter, hosteller, confessor for strangers, and pharmacist at one and the same time (This at least would be a recognisable activity to recruits from monasteries). 'However there might be journeys to make, the beginnings of a ministry to fulfil'.²⁷¹

That is all, perhaps because De Foucauld thought the possibility slight, perhaps because it was no longer a matter to worry about. After all, he had admitted two years previously that he wasn't in fact bound by a vow of enclosure. Further light on his feelings was indirectly given in his plans for the future.

At present I am alone; I have four places, four hermitages in the Sahara, and I go from one to the other; if there were two of us, my brother would be based permanently here Tamanrasset, with the Touareg, where the constant presence of a priest is more necessary than elsewhere; I would be with him for seven or eight months of the year, and during the four or five others I would be at my other hermitages; if there were three of us, my two brothers would always be here, and I would be here for seven or eight months. If there were more than three or four of us then we would begin to divide up and live in two residences, and so on.²⁷²

Two points will readily be noticed. The first is that in saying 'my brother would be based permanently here, with the Touareg, where the constant presence of a priest is more necessary than elsewhere', De Foucauld had resolved the contradiction in his thoughts some years previously. At that time he had affirmed the second part of the above statement and then decided that on journeys 'If there are two of us, always take my brother with me'.²⁷³

The second thing to observe is that he now accepted a peripatetic rôle for himself (permanently, unless there were 12 - 16 Brothers to fill all the hermitages?) and was not bound by the 1904 resolution.

If we are more than two do not accept any longer that God may wish these journeys, unless they have the purpose of the probable transfer of the fraternity to another place...274

The converse of all this is that despite the possibility that 'there might be journeys to make', De Foucauld did not appear to seriously consider that the Brothers would leave the hermitages, certainly not to accompany him. It could be thought that in making this distinction between himself and the others, there was some idea of maintaining his hermitic existence, en route if not elsewhere. For although there were many reasons from an evangelistic viewpoint why companions and neighbours were necessary, he really did prefer to be alone - with God.

In 1912 De Foucauld was invited to visit a friend in Morocco and declined, although there was no vehement statement of a principle of enclosure, only regret coupled with a reason.

I do not say no. My joy will be great to see Captain Yvart; my joy will be profound to see the French flag floating over this country, will I have the joy? I do not know, at the moment I am kept here by much work ... but I do not despair of ever coming to Morocco, of seeing again this Morocco become French to my great happiness, nor of seeing you here.275

Nevertheless, when the same reason was given in 1914 in answer to another invitation in rather different circumstances, it looks as if there might be some substance in Nieger's judgement. For Dr. Vermale was only 50 km away, at the post Nieger referred to,

Fort Motylinski. De Foucauld would certainly have gone there in the call of duty, to visit the sick as he had done before,²⁷⁶ but he declined the Doctor's invitation and asked him to come to Tamanrasset instead, 'The sooner you come, the more happy I will be', explaining that he had a deadline to meet with his lexicographical work. It would be difficult to bring his notes to Motylinski, on the other hand he didn't dare leave the fruit of ten year's work lying around at Tamanrasset while he was away. Perhaps more to the point was the fact that while it was true that the Doctor would have to bring vegetables with him to maintain the dietary standards of the Fort, Tamanrasset offered quietness: 'at least as much, more even, much more than that of Motylinski'.²⁷⁷

So it would seem that, as has been noticed all along, De Foucauld required a particular environment from which to work, a degree of separation, a detached base from which to reach out to others. Dr. Hérissou may have been surprised when he noted during 1909 - 1911 that 'Father de Foucauld, hermit, remained in relation with the external world' and 'received a voluminous post, from France, Algeria and elsewhere, twenty, thirty letters',²⁷⁸ but the conditions of communications in the Sahara provided their own kind of enclosure. Letters would wait weeks or months for a delivery to be arranged in either direction, and several letters from the same correspondent might arrive together. In that situation many problems of the moment would just vanish.

Nevertheless De Foucauld did wish to keep in touch.

While in France in 1913 he arranged, despite his Rule, for the Echo de Paris to be sent to him regularly if war did break out,²⁷⁹ and although that news took a month to reach him and newspapers were five or six weeks old when they arrived,²⁸⁰ he followed events with close attention. In return, he became a one-man clearing house for information about conditions in the Sahara, which he distributed to those on the spot who required it, and also sent in frequent reports to Laperrine who was away at the Front.²⁸¹

Faced by all this activity, an observer would be entitled to ask whether it signified a change of identity, for the 'despised worker of Nazareth' now appeared to be the unofficial Chief of Saharan Intelligence. Had the monk turned soldier again? If so, when did it happen?

4 - THE PRINCIPLE TRANSCENDED

INTEGRATION OF IDENTITIES: INDICATORS OF A TREND

It would seem that De Foucauld's change in outlook was a gradual process which he never had to face consciously - although he did recognise that there was a distinction to be made between soldier and priest. But if a point of change is to be sought, then it must be placed rather earlier than the beginning of the First World War, and also before the 'natural break' which might have been expected to follow the deaths of both Huvelin and Guérin in 1910.²⁸² In fact, if one considers the evolution of De Foucauld's thinking about the liability of monks for military service, it can be argued that signs of change may be detected as early as 1903. Whilst if that is considered too tangential an issue, more serious attention must be given to the way De Foucauld altered his signature according to a definite pattern which emerged from 1907 onwards.

Certainly such early dates for shifts in De Foucauld's direct or indirect attitude to himself as a former officer and as a member of a family with military traditions should come as no surprise. For it must be remembered that in the Saharan situation there was no fundamental opposition between what he wanted to do as a priest and what the military were concerned to achieve, since as there was no civil administration at that time, everything which contributed to social stability and so to the freedom for Christian witness to be pursued was attributable to the army.

That is not to suggest that De Foucauld was blind to the frailties of men. On the contrary, he was quite aware of incidents in which soldiers or officers disgraced their calling and was not slow to say what he thought about their behaviour.²⁸³ Yet there was no basic incompatibility in his mind between the two vocations. Or, to be more accurate, any incompatibility which he had felt was dispelled soon after he settled at Beni-Abbès in 1901. For although De Foucauld's Rule stated that the vow of enclosure prevented the Petits Frères from doing military service²⁸⁴ (which he had earlier characterised as 'an activity so little in accord with Jesus' disciples'),²⁸⁵ that particular part of the Rule had never required consideration in any of the annual retreats which he undertook from 1902 to 1909. It is possible that this was merely because De Foucauld was no longer personally liable for such service, but a review of the other evidence suggests a more significant change of perception over the years.

BROTHERS IN ARMS

At the time De Foucauld sent in his resignation as a Reserve officer on entering the Trappist Order there is no doubt that he could only see the army as part of the world which he had left for good. This attitude persisted for some years, for when he heard that a Trappist friend seemed to have escaped conscription, De Foucauld wrote to say that he was 'absolutely overjoyed'.²⁸⁶ Similarly, when the case was re-opened, De Foucauld

expressed the hope that his correspondent should escape military service at any price. Thinking no doubt of his own experiences, he described the dangers. It was an 'occasion of sin, source of a thousand very grave temptations. We must be prudent, we are no holier than Adam.'²⁸⁷ Prudence did not mean trusting God in the situation, but asking him to keep one from it.

I am praying with my whole heart and asking our Lord most earnestly to let you escape military service. He forbade the Jews to return to Egypt after having delivered them from it; I implore him to help you, to uphold you, to direct things in such a way that you will not have to go back into the Egypt of the world from which he has so mercifully brought you out.²⁸⁸

The problem of finding ways and means for monks to escape military service was still on De Foucauld's mind when he arrived at Beni-Abbès. He told Dom Martin in his first letter from the garrison settlement (5.11.1901) that he was looking into the matter. Complete dispensation seemed unlikely, but if the monks came from France to Beni-Abbès they would only have to do one year's service, instead of the usual three.²⁸⁹ De Foucauld continued to think about the situation but could not come up with any other suggestions. In April 1902 he repeated his idea and added that their military service might even be waived as a personal favour to himself, if they came for ten years as members of De Foucauld's fraternity. This would involve following his austere regime and being willing to die of hunger or to have their heads cut off for Jesus' sake.²⁹⁰

Dom Martin, as always, turned a blind eye to this indirect request for companions, as he did to more direct appeals. The

subject appears to have been dropped for a time, but when De Foucauld thanked him in January 1903 for sending news of the men in the army, he again expressed his concern.

... you must do what you can to spare them this peril: I've recently been in touch with some monks and seminarians doing their military service. Alas, alas, there's nothing to say but alas: of course there are some who stand up to the test but for many it is disastrous.²⁹¹

In striking contrast to this rejection of the army is the tone of the letters that De Foucauld wrote to Brother Augustin towards the end of the first year of the Great War. In these it will be noticed that charity is the ruling consideration and that the army is a place where the monks can work, both for its objectives and the people involved in carrying them out.

God has willed that Br Anastase and Br Ernest should offer the sacrifice of their lives for the salvation of their brothers: they have sacrificed their lives to duty and charity in a matter of moments instead of sacrificing it over a long time in the cloister; they have sacrificed it in the open instead of in the shadow of the monastery.²⁹²

Thank you for your news of all our Fathers and Brothers under arms; you can imagine how I pray for them, asking God to look after them and help them to do good; they are missionaries among our soldiers, perhaps not by word but by example, virtue and goodness which have greater value.²⁹³

Indeed, it was at this time that De Foucauld, believing (erroneously, as it turned out) that the laws of the Church would allow him to volunteer for active service, wrote to Laperrine at the Front to say that he was willing to come at once, if asked.²⁹⁴ The call never came, for the General doubtless realised that De Foucauld was far more valuable where he was, but the incident is significant for underlining the hermit's change of outlook. Why

did it take place? The immediate answer is given in the second letter quoted above, which repeats what he wrote in many others:

This war isn't like other wars. Those who die in it give their lives to save their brothers and sisters not only from degrading subjugation but from every kind of cruelty, every kind of violence, every kind of most inhuman infamy. They are truly martyrs for love of neighbour.²⁹³

'This war isn't like other wars', in other words, 'This is a special case'. That is one answer, but it is not the whole story. It must also be recognised that despite his yearning for the enclosed life, De Foucauld had not found his unofficial chaplaincy work with the French troops in the Sahara unbearable. Nor, on their part, did his old friends think he was in the wrong situation. Hence it may be said that De Foucauld found in his own experience that the general observation he had made in 1903, 'there are some who stand up to the test', was true. How his thinking progressed from the qualified statement of 1903 to the enthusiastic endorsement of 1915 cannot be traced directly, but some indication of the way De Foucauld came to feel at home in the military world can be deduced from the way he presented himself to it through the medium of his voluminous correspondence. The very development²⁹⁵ of this is as significant as its content,²⁹⁶ but for the purposes of this study in self-identity it is only necessary to consider one element: the varying signatures with which he was accustomed to end his letters.

Perhaps with a person who was not as methodical as De Foucauld, or one who lived in an era like the present when there are other major forms of communication, these would not be counted

as being very significant. But since De Foucauld was in a situation in which he frequently had to present himself to others by means of letters, and especially because the 'death and resurrection' symbolism of the change of name which accompanied his entry on the Trappist life would have been impressed upon him, they warrant serious consideration.

ONCE A 'DE FOUCAULD', ALWAYS A 'DE FOUCAULD'?

Before he became a monk, De Foucauld used to sign himself 'Ch. de Foucauld' or 'Vte. de Foucauld'.²⁹⁷ On entering Notre-Dame des Neiges, he took the name 'Frère Marie Albéric' on the feast day of St. Albéric, second Abbot of Cîteaux (d. 1109),²⁹⁸ and on leaving the Trappist Order he became simply 'Frère Charles'.²⁹⁹ This continued until March 1899, when, in imitation of St. Teresa of Avila who called herself 'Teresa of Jesus',³⁰⁰ and as the first of the Ermîtes du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus,³⁰¹ he signed himself 'Frère Charles de Jésus'.³⁰² At the same time De Foucauld requested that letters be addressed to him in this way, instead of to 'Charles Foucauld', as before.³⁰³ One notices in this latter case that the aristocratic particle, 'de', must have been dropped at some point previous to this, for De Foucauld's earliest instructions to his cousin Louis was to write to Charles de Foucauld.³⁰⁴ However, it seems that the hermit became sensitive about the 'de', and even three years later felt it necessary to remind Huvelin to address a letter to him without it.³⁰⁵

On reaching Beni-Abbès, De Foucauld both signed himself

'Frere Charles de Jesus' and had letters addressed to him in this way,³⁰⁶ a practice which he followed for many years, (except when needing to use his surname in official letters or to introduce himself to new correspondents) although when he returned from his first stay at Tamanrasset he decided that it would be more prudent, and prevent his mail from attracting unwelcome attention as it followed him round the desert, if letters bore the secular title 'Charles de Foucauld'.³⁰⁷ It will be noted that the 'de' reappeared at this point. In fact, it was never to be omitted from this time onward.

This change of 1906 in the way De Foucauld wished himself to be known to the postal couriers was perhaps no more than an unwilling coming to terms with circumstances, for he continued to try to efface himself with both the Touareg and the French. De Foucauld considered that the natives did not see him as an individual, 'Myself, I do not exist', but as a representative: the Christian marabout, or holy man,³⁰⁸ whilst he wished that his military friends would not call him 'Pere' (although, of course, they all did),³⁰⁹ and even in formal letters and official documents De Foucauld only barely acknowledged his status as 'F. Carolus a Jesu (sacerdos)'.³¹⁰ Yet the change was part of a progression that had wider implications, since there was soon to be a change in his signature as well. For De Foucauld began his correspondence with Colonel Sigonney³¹¹ in mid-1907 with a new signature which combined his family background with his religious status: 'Frere Charles de Foucauld'. This was used for about a year, then there

was a reversion to 'Frère Charles de Jesus' for a time, after which the two signatures were interchanged apparently at random until June 1912 when 'Frère Charles de Jesus' was dropped for good.

Such an alternation between signatures did not occur with other correspondents, but De Foucauld made a definitive change from one to the other with several of them³¹² around May 1911. So for this group of people De Foucauld became 'Frère Charles de Foucauld' for the rest of his life, although there were others with whom he did not reach such a neat composite (or integrated) identity. For the 1908-11 identity flux or confusion was not to be universally or permanently solved in this way.

Thus with regard to his close friend Henry de Castries, De Foucauld did not change from the first to the second signature until 1913.³¹³ Furthermore, within little more than a year³¹⁴ it was altered once more, this time almost full circle. For De Foucauld signed himself simply 'Charles de Foucauld' from then on. This does not seem to have been a merely accidental slip of the pen, for almost exactly the same thing happened with another old friend, Brother Augustin.³¹⁵ One might suggest in explanation that De Foucauld unconsciously found it more difficult to admit to his change of identity while thinking of relationships founded in a religious rather than a secular context. This hypothesis would seem to be supported by a third example, that of his correspondence with the Abbess of the Poor Clares of Nazareth.³¹⁶ For here there was no intermediate step, but a change from 'Frère Charles de Jesus' to 'Charles de Foucauld' between September 1914 and March 1915.³¹⁷

It is tempting to suggest that the outbreak of the War influenced De Foucauld to change his outlook, especially as the voluminous and lengthy war-time correspondence to Laperrine³¹⁸ and Duclos³¹⁹ was all signed 'Charles de Foucauld'. But it must be noted that this signature was used as early as November 1913.³²⁰ Yet even if the declaration of war was not the only factor, it must have been a contributory one, for De Foucauld changed the signature on his letters to several other correspondents³²¹ around that time.

What is to be made of all this? All that can be said with certainty is that the variations point to a complex identity and different degrees of integration among its elements. Hence, it would seem that De Foucauld was wrong in thinking himself to be a monk and nothing else. Possibly those of his contemporaries who believed he illustrated the saying 'Once a soldier, always a soldier' were more correct. But since De Foucauld continued to let himself be known to some of his correspondents as 'Frère Charles de Foucauld' and was also still following his monastic timetable in 1913-15³²², a clear-cut choice between alternatives does not seem to be necessary. Could it not be that the use of both signatures during the last two years of his life shows an acceptance of the past accompanied by a willingness to live in the present?

5 - THE VIEW FROM THE CLOISTER:
CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE

RETREATING WALLS AND WIDENING HORIZONS

As the evidence of his signatures suggests, it was around 1914 that De Foucauld came to take a more relaxed view of the different aspects of himself, and of his place in the world. It will be remembered that De Foucauld had made a rule never to talk about his past, a rule which he steadfastly observed, except on one occasion in 1905 when he confided to a friend that he had just had a nightmare about putting on his officer's uniform.³²³ Eleven years later, however, this compartmentalisation and resulting psychological stress seems to have disappeared. Not that De Foucauld began to talk to other people about the past, but he did take a new attitude to his own thoughts, feeling able to advise Massignon: 'Let us often recount the double history of the favours which God has personally done us since our birth and that of our infidelities'.³²⁴

Although one may still pick up a trace of self-rejection in the further comment, 'Let us seek to atone a little for our sins through love for our neighbours',³²⁵ this is very mild compared with De Foucauld's previous concern that the Petits Frères lead a penitential life, or his feeling that lack of evangelistic success in the Sahara was due to his personal failings.³²⁶ Indeed this latter view that everything depended on him was amended at the same time as De Foucauld's wish to hurry through what he would once have called 'this sad life' gave way to an openness to God's will. For,

as he wrote to his cousin on 20 July 1914:

I cannot say I want to die; once I did; but now I see so much good that needs to be done, so many souls without a shepherd, that I want to do a little good and work a little for the salvation of these poor souls: but God loves them more than I do, and he doesn't need me. May his will be done.³²⁷

Yet a distinction must be made between this recognition of a change of outlook almost at the end of De Foucauld's life, and the actual course of its development over the years. It has already been suggested that 1903 (possibly) and 1907 (certainly) were significant years in the evolution of his perception of himself and the world around him, and corroboration of this may be sought at its mid-point, in the statement of January 1905:

... forgive this long business letter: I had rather speak to you only of the good God: but these affairs are those of the good God: DEUS CARITAS EST; and all which tends to unite souls in brotherhood, in love, is the business of the good God.³²⁸

A striking similarity will be noted between the phrases 'but these affairs are the business of the good God' and 'but now I see so much good that needs to be done ... May his will be done', but the differences should be equally apparent. In 1905 the idea was novel, and De Foucauld's support of it provisional.³²⁹ By 1914 the concept was still recognisable as one that had a history and had provoked a change in outlook, but it was now part of him. So the question emerges, what, in 1903, 1905 or 1907, contributed to, if it did not actually cause, the alteration in De Foucauld's perspective?

Or, to look at change as a process rather than a matter of individual incidents, since the 1905 statement appears to mark a

turning point in De Foucauld's outlook, how did he get to that position and what made him go on in the same direction? In other words, why did he not revert to the strict application of his belief - expressed only a couple of months previously - that:

Not a word in the Gospel shows Jesus doing good to men in occupying himself with their material or political worldly affairs; everything there shows him lifting them above them and teaching them to seek not the kingdoms of the earth and their glory and riches, but the kingdom of God and his righteousness. At his example, do not do the inferior good of helping them in their worldly affairs, for this prevents us from doing a very superior one, which can only be done by those who 'lifted above the earth' through mortification, living by faith, hope and charity, are entirely lost in Jesus through love, imitation, obedience, and total union of will.³³⁰

One may make a preliminary observation that this approach is justified as there was no crisis at the end of 1904. The two statements belong to a process of development reaching further back, for, as has been indicated earlier, the distinction made between the sacred and the secular was slightly less rigid than in De Foucauld's original pronouncements.

The second thing to note is that this development had two components: one which tended to retard it; the other, to advance it. The more negative one was De Foucauld's concept of enclosure. For, as can be seen from the quotation above, his problem of involvement with the secular was that he felt it would keep him from being 'entirely lost in Jesus'. In other words, De Foucauld did not see a way of being in the world but not of it, and the conditions he sought seemed to require a physical enclosure. This being the case, it may be fairly inferred that any substantial increase in

his participation in the secular world would require a parallel modification of his concept of enclosure.

This is indeed what happened over the years, as De Foucauld gradually came to appreciate that the boundary of God's will was ultimately more significant than the boundary of silence and solitude, and both were more important than any physical enclosure. But the assimilation of this truth was a slow process: for it had been momentarily, almost unconsciously glimpsed in 1891, and more fully grasped in 1904-1905, as the following quotations will bring to mind:

The thing that pleases me very much, regarding the lack of a cloister and so on, is that I find it isn't an obstacle to regularity; God who has sent us here in these conditions gives us the necessary grace to be able to be regular without that aid.³³¹

Where is the requies in saeculum saeculi? In Jesus and Jesus alone. That has been the message of all my stopping-places, and every step of my journeys.³³²

... I make no more plans seeing them so often upset, I live from day to day,³³³ trying to do the will of the good God the whole time and leaving him the care of directing as he wishes.³³⁴

But even when De Foucauld realised that his discipline of prayer and meditation should give him an interiorised enclosure: 'it is love which should make you inwardly recollected in me, and not separation from my children: see me in them, and like me at Nazareth, live near them, lost in God',³³⁵ it seems that to achieve that recollection in practice, so that 'to be on a journey or in the hermitage hardly changes me, for eyes and ears stay on high, in immense peace',³³⁶ he did have to maintain a certain degree of separation, travelling and eating alone as much as possible.³³⁷

So the explanation for De Foucauld's lack of concern about enclosure in the years leading up to World War I must lie at least in part in the fact that he had achieved a literal enclosure of sorts. For he was by now too far from the world to need any walls to protect him, living in splendid geographical isolation far from everyone except his beloved Touareg, whose nomadic life left plenty of time for him to be completely alone. Though even in this situation De Foucauld could dream of a more effective enclosure: 'Deafness is a handicap hermits long for'.³³⁸

Yet De Foucauld's change in outlook on the world was not only due to retreating walls, but also to widening horizons arising from the positive component of the concept of the imitatio Christi in those statements of 1904 and 1905. For despite the apparent contradictions between them, they contain almost synonymous understandings of this theme. In one, De Foucauld was concerned to help people to seek 'the kingdom of God and his righteousness', in the other he talked of the 'business of the good God'. In the first the reference to Jesus' teaching and example was specific, in the second it was implicit in the description, 'all which tends to unite souls in brotherhood, in love'. De Foucauld may well have been thinking of the picture of Jesus given in Jn 17 when writing this phrase, as that passage was the subject of several of his meditations,³³⁹ and it also points to broader themes in his thought concerning the universal Fatherhood of God and the presence of Christ in every man.³⁴⁰

Clearly, to say that one should be concerned for 'all which tends to unite souls in brotherhood, in love', is to

encompass such a large range of options that it may well seem that the principle is too vague to be much help in deciding what to do. On the other hand a good case could be made out that to make a general statement of this kind and leave the details to be worked out in the concrete situation demonstrates a more mature approach to the imitatio Christi idea.³⁴¹ 'More mature', that is, in the sense that although the risks of error or self-deception would be recognised, they would not be allowed to prevent decisions being made and actions carried out. Certainly these risks are real, especially in this particular situation where Christian and colonial aspirations were so closely connected. It will also be obvious that to attempt to decide when De Foucauld was motivated by one rather than the other would be to take too simplistic a view of motivation. Yet a meaningful distinction can be made between the judgement that motivations are 'closely connected' and the conclusion that they are 'confused', and a cogent defence mounted that the first of these evaluations be applied to De Foucauld. To try to go further than this would both be unrealistic and perpetuate the dualism which biographers have tended to foster in approaching him either from a religious or secular standpoint.³⁴²

A detailed account of the application of De Foucauld's principle of going about God's business would be out of place in this study, but the persistence of one-sided assessments makes it necessary to present a summary account. This falls naturally into two sections. The first looks back to the Beni-Abbès period to show that in approaching the problem of slavery De Foucauld

applied more than one component of his concept of the imitatio Christi to the situation, thus meeting the criticism that it was no more than a vague principle. The second, covering the years at Tamanrasset, outlines the development of De Foucauld's involvement with the Touareg, especially in the field of linguistic studies.

STANDING UP FOR JUSTICE AND TRUTH: THE SCANDAL OF SLAVERY (1902-1905)

When De Foucauld first came to Beni-Abbes he was immediately appalled by the practice of slavery which flourished 'under the protection and with the approval of the French government,'³⁴³ so many years after its official abolition in 1848. De Foucauld wrote several letters in 1902 to Guerin and Henry de Castries in order to get representations made about the matter at the highest level,³⁴⁴ and he also did what he could with his own slender resources to help, and occasionally to free, individual slaves. Indeed, he went beyond his means and had to ask Dom Martin to send him mass intentions and the appropriate payments.³⁴⁵ This also involved going beyond his Rule, both in regard to its specific proscription of that way of raising money,³⁴⁶ and in talking and writing about the problem. But De Foucauld could remain neither silent nor inactive.

In his letters De Foucauld deployed a whole host of reasons for seeking the effective abolition of slavery. For one thing, kidnapping boys or young men from the Sudan was unjust and immoral.³⁴⁷ For another, the system was economically suspect as slaves who

received little or nothing for their labours had no incentive to work hard.³⁴⁸ On the political front it ought to be realised that the French double-standard made people despise the authorities for being afraid to act according to their principles.³⁴⁹ Indeed, as he told both Guérin and Dom Martin,³⁵⁰ De Foucauld felt that he had a duty to see that the hypocrisy of a government which proclaimed liberty, equality and fraternity at home but not in its colonies should be publicly exposed. For De Foucauld's fundamental argument, the one into which he put the most energy, was the theological one. No human power had the right to enslave those whom God had created as free as themselves,³⁵¹ and De Foucauld had a pastoral responsibility to stand up for his charges:

... we must 'love our neighbour as ourselves' and do for these wretched people 'what we would wish to have done for ourselves' - 'see that none of those entrusted to us by God shall be lost', ... We must not meddle in temporal government, no-one is more convinced of that than I, and yet 'we must love justice and hate iniquity', so that when the temporal government commits a grave injustice against those in our care ... then the government must be told that this is what it is doing, for it is we who stand for justice and truth in the world and we haven't the right to be 'sleeping watchmen', 'dumb dogs', or 'careless shepherds'.³⁵²

De Foucauld was no radical, he only wanted the government to honour its word, and his approach to the slaves themselves was also quite constitutional and conservative, as he reported to Dom Martin:

... far from preaching revolt and escape I preach patience and hope, I say God permits your hardships for your improvement and your glory in heaven, pray to God and sanctify yourselves, 'seek first the kingdom of God and all the rest will be added to you', man's slavery and his earthly home will soon pass, like life, think of Satan's slavery and the eternal Fatherland.³⁵³

Guérin was told substantially the same, with the addition that De Foucauld also said to the slaves that in due time God would give them relief and liberty,³⁵⁴ a qualification that somewhat alarmed Guérin, who advised that freedom should not be spoken of at the moment, instead, it should be prepared for by the instilling of the principle of the 'supernatural dignity of work'.³⁵⁵ On the question of making official representations to the government the Apostolic Prefect stalled, claiming that he needed to make a personal survey of his whole territory.³⁵⁶ Six months later³⁵⁷ he gave his considered reply that the time was not opportune to do this, and asked that De Foucauld refrained from any such activity himself. As always, the hermit bowed to the wisdom and authority of his superiors and agreed, but not without registering his opinion that such prudence and diplomacy was unchristian. Guérin's arguments were unquestionable in themselves, nevertheless De Foucauld regretted that 'the representatives of Jesus content themselves with supporting "in a whisper" (and not "on the house-tops") a cause which is that of justice and charity'.³⁵⁸

As far as De Foucauld's personal intervention at Beni-Abbes was concerned, Guérin approved³⁵⁹ of the sentiments which motivated him, but then went on to point out the practical implications. If De Foucauld continued to take matters into his own hands through ransoming slaves he should realise that the payment made to obtain their freedom would be a minor matter compared with the difficulty and expense involved in sending a child away for several years to be educated. This comment applied to Abd Jesu, whom De Foucauld had ransomed on 4 July at the tender age of about

three-and-a-half, some six months after the first slave (age 20), re-named Joseph du Sacré Coeur had been freed.³⁶⁰ Three more were to be paid for after Guérin wrote his letter (a father, with a fifteen year old boy whom De Foucauld called Paul (14.9.1902), and a thirteen year old boy re-christened Peter (21.1.1903),³⁶¹ but then De Foucauld stopped.

Why? Partly no doubt because of Guérin's influence, but also probably because De Foucauld's dream of making the first converts from slaves, as in the Early Church,³⁶² faded. For by April 1903 they had all, except for little Abd Jesu,³⁶³ left the Fraternity. Peter wanted to return to his parents, Paul and Joseph went away in disgrace.³⁶⁴ Yet although his personal intervention had come to an end, De Foucauld was still concerned about finding ways to suppress slavery and returned to the subject in his 1904 notes for missionary journeys in the Sahara.³⁶⁵ One method was to educate the Touareg so as to change their moral outlook, another was to enable the slaves to get work so that they could earn their own ransom. Such things lay in the future, but meanwhile De Foucauld was able to report to Henry de Castries³⁶⁶ that the legal position had been tightened up by the French military administration. It was no longer permissible to sell or exchange slaves, and they could be made to go free if they had been badly treated. Thus slow but sure progress was being made in the right direction. Very slow progress, De Foucauld probably thought when he looked back in 1913 to see what had happened since 1905, but his detailed report³⁶⁷ on the subject was strictly factual. There had been certain changes for the

better and the slaves were being treated more equitably in some respects. It is also possible that after so many years of close contact with the Touareg that De Foucauld had a more balanced view of the situation, although he was as committed as ever to the eventual abolition of all slavery, and drew up a new code of practice in July 1914 to advance this.³⁶⁸

Looking back over the course of De Foucauld's involvement in this social problem, it will be noted that the moral indignation which underpinned it stemmed from his appreciation of certain basic principles in the Gospels. For although his advice to the slaves might be traced back to the Pauline Epistles, De Foucauld's concern for his own behaviour was expressed in central aspects of his understanding of Jesus' teaching and example. For the requirement to treat others as we would like to be treated pointed back to the union of all men as sons of the Father who created them, and through Jesus who lived in them, doctrines which De Foucauld never ceased to reiterate to himself, along with the more specific example of Jesus as the good shepherd, which was the other motivation for action, as he told Dom Martin:

Far be it from me to want to start talking and writing, yet I don't want to betray my children, I don't want not to do for Jesus what he needs as living in his members. It is Jesus himself who is in this tragic situation - 'what you do to the least of these my little ones you do to me'. I don't want to be a bad shepherd or a dumb dog. And I'm afraid of sacrificing Jesus to my love of peace and quiet and my innate cowardice and timidity ...³⁶⁹

Why, then, did De Foucauld not go ahead regardless of the opinions of his superiors? The answer must be that he invoked a still higher principle of the imitatio Christi, that of obedience.

For in closing the letter to Guérin which contained his thoughts on prudence and diplomacy, De Foucauld said what he had so often said to Huvelin in the past:

The instructions, the orders, the advice of an Ecclesiastical Superior are an incomparable benefit: 'Who hears you hears me'; through this voice we know the will of Jesus, and to know the will of the Beloved is a supreme good for the heart which loves.³⁷⁰

At that particular point De Foucauld's obedience was an act of will, but he later came to see that the problem should be solved in the more indirect and gradual ways that Guérin suggested. This is not the place to judge between the outlook of the two men, but it will be noticed that - rightly or wrongly - the impetus that De Foucauld derived from his concept of the imitatio Christi was moderated by the concrete conditions of the situation. This 'learning by doing' (a variation, perhaps, of 'learning by obedience') was to become an increasingly significant influence on De Foucauld's outlook, as will be seen in the account which follows of his interests in later years. For while it is true that his observations of Touareg culture and language were begun reluctantly under obedience, they soon gained a momentum of their own and became De Foucauld's main concern, with far-reaching effects, not the least of these being the employment of talents which had lain dormant ever since he completed his exploration of Morocco in 1884.

TO KNOW AND TO LOVE: TOUAREG STUDIES (1905-1916)

Guérin looked upon De Foucauld as a complete person,³⁷¹ rather than one whose life began when he became a Trappist, and so wished to take full advantage of his many gifts. His demands on De

Foucauld at Beni-Abbès were mild, for until April 1905 he shared the latter's belief that the Fraternity was a temporary stage, and that the former explorer of Morocco would be able to find a way to take the Gospel into that country.³⁷² Yet he asked De Foucauld to keep a diary and make geographical, historical, and moral observations which might be of use then or later,³⁷³ and also suggested that the hermit should use his previous military contacts to further the work of both Church and State.³⁷⁴

De Foucauld accepted that a certain minimum knowledge of native language and customs was necessary, but thought deep study unprofitable. A language was best perfected by speaking it, and profound knowledge of the Muslim religion was beside the point as it should be exposed rather than discussed. In any case all these human achievements were as nothing compared with the necessity of being open to God's grace through becoming holy.³⁷⁵ However, he complied with Guérin's wishes in respect to both matters; thus beginning the studies which were to flourish in the years ahead, and making the contacts which enabled him to visit other areas of the Sahara and eventually establish himself at Tamanrasset.

De Foucauld's main aim during this Tamanrasset period was to study the language and culture of the Touareg in order to prepare the way for the missionaries who would follow him. He would also redeem the time by seeking to break down the prejudices that existed between his nation and theirs, so that there should be no unnecessary barriers to the Touareg receiving the Gospel in due course. One of the ways of bridging the gap was through personal friendship (especially with influential people like Moussa Ag

Amastane), another was through education; an activity he did not feel called on to engage in himself, but he did what he could to promote.³⁷⁶

It will be remembered that De Foucauld's first plan to leave his normal cloistered life at Beni-Abbes was motivated by the desire to get to know the Touareg and their language well enough to be able to give them the Scriptures in their own tongue.³⁷⁷ The latter task was also laid down in the 1904 notes for missionary journeys in the Sahara, which clearly show his reasoning:

Prepare at once a Tamahak translation for them.... There is no reason in trying to teach the Touareg Arabic, which brings them nearer the Koran; it is, on the contrary, necessary that they should be diverted from it. They must be taught Tamahak, an excellent and very easy language, and by degrees we must provide it with words indispensable for the expression of religious ideas and Christian virtues, and improve, without changing, its system of writing.... Read them passages about natural religion or morals ... as soon as conversions begin to take place, we must have a Tamahak catechism.³⁷⁸

So De Foucauld started on the language and the translation of the Gospels on his travels,³⁷⁹ and on his return to the fraternity replaced manual work in the garden by the writing up of his notes and the copying out of his translations.³⁸⁰ Although he never doubted the importance of these undertakings, he became as concerned about the setting aside of his 'humble gardening of the worker son of Mary',³⁸¹ as he had been about the curtailment of prayer and reading during his journeys.³⁸² Thus when the Four Gospels were completed, he decided to limit any future commitment to translating selected parts of the books of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Genesis,³⁸³ while the bulk of his time in 1906 would have to be spent on language study.³⁸⁴ As soon as possible, however,

he would return to his normal work in the fraternity grounds, to his accustomed amount of reading,³⁸⁵ and to his 'life of prayer at the foot of the tabernacle'.³⁸⁶

Yet the summers of 1906 and 1907, and the spring of 1908 came and went as projected dates for reverting to the life envisaged in his Rule,³⁸⁷ so De Foucauld came to see the exception as something more permanent. No doubt he was still aware of the problem he had encountered in July 1906 of the tendency to escape into work when he found prayer difficult,³⁸⁸ but he decided that 'for everything there is a season'. The time taken from one activity at a certain period could be made up during another.³⁸⁹ Despite this adjustment De Foucauld continued - in 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1915³⁹⁰ - to express the wish that he might finish with these studies once and for all, and despite his repeated wish they carried on.

The work dragged on for three reasons. The first is that De Foucauld found it more difficult than he expected. The language was richer and more complex than he had thought.³⁹¹ Secondly, his body could not be made to work like a machine for very long. Ill-health brought on by his studies (which sometimes lasted eleven hours a day)³⁹² and general austerities slowed him down in 1908³⁹³ and 1911.³⁹⁴ Finally, as with his projects for the Petits Frères, the schemes for language study grew with the years.

At the end of April 1907 De Foucauld had written of his work in terms of a grammar and a French-Touareg lexicon completed, and another Touareg-French lexicon on the way, making no mention of what he was going to do with the poems he had started to collect in 1906.³⁹⁵ Five-and-a-half years later De Foucauld was saying

that a perfect lexicon would need 'fifteen years more and another head than mine',³⁹⁶ but his own contribution should be finished in a month or so. It would take two months to extract a shorter lexicon and then three or four months to make a fair copy of the longer work. However, although the first pages of the shorter lexicon went to the printer on schedule, he foresaw at least three years of copying and corrections of the main work ahead of him, while it took thirteen months to complete the preparation of the shorter lexicon for the press.³⁹⁷

In 1912 De Foucauld had thought that he would be finished by 1915 or 1916, but now, at the beginning of 1914, he hoped God would spare him to complete a Touareg grammar in 1918³⁹⁸ or 1919.³⁹⁹ Meanwhile he planned to complete the dictionary of proper names and the longer Touareg-French dictionary within the year; and hoped that 1916-17 would see the conclusion of the collection of Touareg poetry and proverbs, the collection of prose texts, and the shorter French-Touareg dictionary.

However, this revised schedule also turned out to be too optimistic. The longer Touareg-French dictionary required a steady five or six pages a day copying and checking which took until the middle of 1915 to complete,⁴⁰⁰ whilst the preparation of the printer's copy of the poetry needed twice as much time as De Foucauld had estimated. In fact it was only finished on 28 November 1916, three days before he was murdered.⁴⁰¹ On this showing one may suppose that, if De Foucauld had lived, the revision of the collection of Touareg prose (which he had originally expected to take two or three months)⁴⁰² would have extended until

mid 1917. It is difficult to judge how much longer it would have taken him to complete the grammar, but it would certainly have been several years, for De Foucauld had looked forward to this undertaking with trepidation as he came to appreciate the character of the language even more deeply as his studies progressed.⁴⁰³

But, whether completed or not, all this work represents a tremendous expenditure of time and energy by one man over twelve years. It is difficult to convey the nature of this dedication, but some inkling of what was involved may be gained by considering a few facts. De Foucauld collected at least 575 poems, and 172 prose passages of ethnographical, historical or folklore interest. The shorter Touareg-French dictionary ran to 1445 printed pages, while the four-volume facsimile edition of the longer work reached 2028.⁴⁰⁴ These pages of neat script and careful insertions or deletions demonstrate both the difficulty of copying from one manuscript to another all day long, and the painstaking checking that he undertook to make allowances for it, while the actual content, the words and illustrative sketches, shows how much he managed to learn of the people he loved. Such an investment of De Foucauld's life in one field might be expected to affect his other interests, and this proved to be the case.

De Foucauld's Touareg studies were responsible for him deciding to buy a house at In Salah in 1907 and for delaying his return from Tamanrasset to Beni-Abbès from winter 1907 until autumn 1908.⁴⁰⁵ They were the reason given for not leaving Tamanrasset in January 1910 to visit the new hermitages he was founding

in the Adrar and at Asekrem,⁴⁰⁶ and possibly account for the fact that the Adrar foundation was never realised. It was ten times as far away from Tamanrasset as Asekrem, so the journey would have taken ten times as much valuable time away from his studies. In 1912 De Foucauld decided that he could not even spare the time to travel the 60 km to Asekrem to stay for a worthwhile period, for he really felt the pressure of interruptions by visitors that year.⁴⁰⁷ As far as short visits were concerned he recognised that enforced mini-holidays were good for his health, or so he wrote for the benefit of his cousin who was always concerned about his disregard for the body.⁴⁰⁸ But a whole fortnight was taken up with military officers and members of the mission surveying for the Trans-Saharan railway. He also had to take a 100 km trip to their camp to see his friend Captain Nieger who was unable to leave it. This did not, as it might have in earlier years, call forth any pronouncements on the rule of enclosure, De Foucauld merely observed that

... this time has been far from being lost; I was quite happy to see Nieger and happy also to see the others ... but it is a fortnight of loss for the lexicon, and I would like to finish with all these works.⁴⁰⁹

So he didn't go to Asekrem that year and in 1914 he also felt unable to go the same distance to see Dr. Vermaire at Fort Motylinski.⁴¹⁰

It has been suggested⁴¹¹ that it was the death of his friend Motylinski (2 March 1907) that was the most important event in the Hoggar to direct De Foucauld towards scientific study; although his new perspective on life may have owed as much to the inspiration a year earlier⁴¹² that if his superiors would not send any White Sisters to him, he might be able to find lay substitutes.

They would be just as committed as the nuns but would not look like them externally. One might even go back to the letter of December 1906⁴¹³ in which De Foucauld asked for a companion who would share his basic commitment but would follow his own inclination for the roots of this new outlook.

Be that as it may, De Foucauld became concerned in 1908 that his fiftieth birthday was approaching and that he needed to find someone to carry on his work after he had gone.⁴¹⁴ His plans were ambitious. He had asked Lt. Mercier to devote a lifetime to study:⁴¹⁵ ten years to complete the poems, lexicon and grammar, with a sociological study of the Ahaggar added. Then four or five years for similar studies in other Touareg areas, followed by seven years each for the Adrar and Air regions. Lt. Mercier declined this thirty year project, so De Foucauld passed on the invitation to Louis Massignon. The letter of 8 September 1909⁴¹⁶ spoke not only of scientific study, but of educational and civilising aspects of contacts with the Touareg. While if Massignon would secretly become a priest (which would be an advantage as laymen could go where priests couldn't in times of persecution), he could share De Foucauld's life fully, and, being twenty-five years younger, eventually succeed him.

If this had happened De Foucauld would have established a continuation of the integrated pattern of work and prayer he was following, but this was not to be. Massignon married in 1914 and moved into the world of university teaching, later achieving international renown as an Islamicist.⁴¹⁷ Meanwhile De Foucauld became more conscious of the passage of time - 'Take care of minutes, time

is for action,⁴¹⁸ - and continued his search for colleagues who would go on with his secular work. Dr. Hérissou (in the Hoggar 1909-11) was reproached for not persevering with anthropological studies and told that even a little progress would be something for others to build on.⁴¹⁹

In 1912 De Foucauld took an interest in Lt. (later Captain) Gardel,⁴²⁰ offering to teach him philology and share his notes if his protégé would give ten years for the work. Again De Foucauld was to be disappointed, although that did not stop him from encouraging his friend to get a study of the Ajjer published.⁴²¹ It should be disseminated as widely as possible in the interests of dispelling ignorance and recalling the French to their colonial responsibilities, one of De Foucauld's constant concerns.

Finally, in the months before the outbreak of the War, Dr. Vermaire was welcomed to come to Tamanrasset to study the Touareg and take advantage of De Foucauld's books and personal knowledge.⁴²² So the acknowledged expert on Morocco became the acknowledged expert on the Touareg, the one, but vital difference being that the former activity was undertaken for his own pleasure, while the latter was done for God's sake.⁴²³

But it may be wondered, and with good cause, what had become of De Foucauld's imitatio Christi principle in the years following his taking up residence at Tamanrasset. For it will be remembered that one reason why going forward for ordination had been such a problem for De Foucauld was that the study involved would have set him apart from other monks and given him status

above the 'lowest place' which Jesus took. Was this particular interpretation of the imitatio Christi which had been held so firmly for so long merely abandoned as De Foucauld moved into new situations? In the immediate context the answer to that question must be 'No', for he was to insist that his works be published anonymously, as late as 1908, when he informed Guérin:

As to the question of signing the linguistic works with my name, in spite of the authority of Father Voillard, in whom I have so much respectful confidence, and in spite of yours, I have not changed my mind. What you and he say would probably be true of a White Father, but not of me, vowed as I am to a hidden life ... What determined me to write those works, to put the finishing touches to them, and to have them printed, is precisely because the great good of their publication can be effected without my appearing or being named at all ...⁴²⁴

But overall consideration of the place of the idea of imitating the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth, and its interaction with the principle of enclosure in De Foucauld's Saharan years requires a new chapter.

1 - TOWARDS THE DEFINITION OF A PRINCIPLE

ORIGINS

1. The Rule of St Benedict, ed. and trans. J. McCann (London: Burns and Oates, 1952). Chap. 4, p.33.
2. Ibid., Chap. 66, p.153.
3. Ibid., Chap. 67, pp. 153f.
4. Ibid., Chap. 51, p.117.
5. Ibid., Chap. 67, p.155.
6. H. Van Zeller, The Holy Rule (London: Sheed and Ward, 1959) p.440.
7. The Rule of St Benedict, Chap. 53-54, p.123.
8. Ibid., Chap. 58, pp. 129-33.
9. Zeller, op. cit., p. 370.
10. Ibid., p.373.
11. cf., the private correspondence of Dom Polycarpe 15.2.1895 (LFT, p.96), and De Foucauld's own reflections of 1900 (F.F.215) on Genesis 30.1-21 (1S, pp. 181f), as well as his letters to Huvelin.
12. LDM 16.6.1891 (LFT, p.52).
13. Letter to Comte Louis de Foucauld, quoted in B, p.110.
14. LAH* 15.6.1896 (p.38), 22.6.1897 (p.49), cf., 29.7.1897 (p.51).
15. LAH 22.5.1899 (p.112). cf., F.F. 219 (01-IX.1, 239).
16. LAH 16.1.1898 (pp. 58f.) (SPA, pp. 103f); cf., F.F.197 (NES, p.79).
17. Also reinforced by what he read and copied out from the works of St. Teresa of Avila, cf., 1S, p.150.

INITIAL APPRECIATION

18. F.F. 253; the text is given in TPF pp. 136-45, 'enclosure' features on p.141.
19. F.F. 209; text given in Pottier, op.cit., pp. 74f.
20. LDM 15.11.1890 (LFT, p.37).
21. LDM 11.11.1891 (LFT, p.59) (LD, p.29).
22. Diary (F.F. 265) 26.5.1904 (OS, p.360).
23. LDM 15.11.1890 (p.38).
24. Letter of 24.4.1890, quoted in Pottier, op.cit., p.69.
25. Letter of 24.10.1890, quoted in Ibid., pp. 72f.
26. Letter to Maunoir, 30.1.1893, in Ibid., pp.78f.
27. Letter to Duveyrier, 4.12.1891, in Ibid., p.239.
28. LAH* 27.1.1897 (p.43), 28.5.1898 (p.84).
29. LPJ 30.9.1897 (LFT, p.122).
30. LPJ 4.11.1897 (LFT, p.125).
31. LAH* 16.10.1897 (p.54).
32. LAH* 26.10.1899 (p.117).
33. LDM (?) 2.1900 (LFT, p.170).
34. cf., LDM 29.12.1899, 10.4.1900 (LFT, pp.164ff, 173f).

ELABORATION

35. The texts are given by J.F. Six in Revue Ascétique 141 (1960) 73-88.
36. Ibid., p.85.
37. Ibid., p.88.
38. Ibid., p.79.
39. Ibid., p.85.

40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., pp. 79f.
42. Ibid., p. 86.
43. Ibid., pp. 76f.
44. LAH 22.1.1899 (pp. 100-105).
45. Ibid., p.102.
46. Ibid., p.101.
47. Ibid., p.103.
48. Ibid., p.102.

DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION

49. cf., 1S, p.242 note 243. Six considers that the revision took place after September 1900, but evidence from De Foucauld's sub-diaconate and diaconate Retreats suggests that the transition may be more closely pinpointed as falling between them. For the term 'ermites' used in the first (22.12.900) was replaced by 'petits frères' in the 'election' of second (23.3.1901). cf., F.F. 225-1 (01-X,21), and F.F. 226 (01-X, 49-51).
50. Text given in TPF, pp. 393-399 (Other parts of F.F. 235 are given in Pottier, op. cit., pp. 262-284; and OS, pp. 419-464).
51. Ibid., p. 393.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., p. 396.
54. Ibid., p. 397.
55. OS, p.422.
56. Pottier, op. cit., pp. 266-270.
57. Ibid., p. 270.
58. F.F. 235 (unpublished).
59. OS, p.451.
60. OS, p.425.

- 61. F.F. 235 (unpublished); De Foucauld's italics.
- 62. Loc. cit., Note 18 supra., p. 145.
- 63. F.F. 235, Chap. 20 (unpublished).

A FIRST REACTION TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

- 64. De Foucauld did not consider the possibility of not returning to Nazareth until his diaconate retreat, 23.6.1901. The 'desert' of the quotations identified in notes 65 and 68 infra. is still figurative.
- 65. LAH 26.4.1900 (p.139).
- 66. LAH 16.5.1900 (p.158).
- 67. Ibid., p. 162.
- 68. Ibid.
- 69. LAH 29.5.1900 (pp. 166-70).
- 70. LAH 26.4.1900 (p.139).
- 71. LAH 1.6.1900 (p.171).
- 72. LAH* 20.5.1900 (p.179).
- 73. LAH* 25.7.1900 (p.180).
- 74. LAH* 29.5.1901 (p.188), cf. LAH* 7.5.1901 (p.187).
- 75. LAH* 13.9.1900 (p.183), 18.9.1900 (p.184).
- 76. LPJ 17.7.1901 (LFT, p.197) (LD, p.84).
- 77. LHC 23.6.1901 (p.83).
- 78. LHC 14.8.1901 (p.94).
- 79. IS, p.273.
- 80. LMG 9.12.1901, quoted in Ibid.

2 - PRACTICAL REALITIES:
A BENI-ABBES DIARY (1902-1905)

FIRST STEPS

81. B, p.155.
82. Ibid., p.157.
83. General Giraud's recollection, quoted in AS.2, 290.
84. B, pp.157f.
85. LDM 7.2.1902 (LFT, p.224) (LD, p.102).
86. LDM 15.5.1902 (LFT, pp.231f) (LD, pp.106f).
87. 16 April, TPF, p.161.
88. LMB 21.4.1902 (p.99).
89. LDM 15.5.1902 (LFT, p.231). cf., LDM 24.4.1902 (LFT, p.229).
90. LMB 2.5.1902 (p.101).
91. LMG 30.9.1902 (OS, p.691).
92. B, p.85.
93. F.F. 230 (01-X, 85-114).
94. Ibid., (01-X, 87).
95. Ibid. (01-X, 89).
96. Ibid. (01-X, 90, 112).
97. Ibid. (01-X, 95).
98. Ibid. (01-X, 96, 110, 112f).
99. Ibid. (01-X, 96).
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid. Resolutions 5 and 15 (01-X, 106f).
102. Ibid. (01-X, 89).
103. cf., note 53, supra, and LHC 23.6.1901 (p.84).

- 104. cf., note 54, supra.
- 105. LHC 8.7.1901 (p.87).
- 106. Ibid. (p.88).
- 107. LHC 5.11.1902 (p.133).
- 108. LHC 23.12.1903 (p.145); cf., LHC 15.12.1904 (p.160).
- 109. cf., infra., p. 411-416.

AN ALTERNATIVE OUTLOOK: INITIAL REACTIONS

- 110. LMG 27.2.1903 (OS, p.693) (SPA, p.150).
- 111. LMG 17.5.1903 17.5.1903 (IS, p.279).
- 112. LAH 10.6.1903 (p.209).
- 113. (OS, p.345).
- 114. LMG 24.6.1903 (CCF 32, p.139).
- 115. LMG 30.6.1903 (CCF 32, p.140).
- 116. LMG*9.7.1903 (CCF 32, p.143).
- 117. LMG 5.8.1903 (CCF 32, p.146); cf., LMG* 22.7.1903 (CCF 32, p.143).
- 118. LMG* 1.8.1903 (B, p.262).
- 119. LMG* 19.8.1903 (CCF 32, pp.147-49).
- 120. LMG 26.8.1903 (CCF 32, p.150) cf., LMB 31.8.1903 (p.116).
- 121. LMB 31.8.1903 (pp.116f).
- 122. B, pp. 203f.
- 123. B, p.204.
- 124. Diary. (F.F.265) 24.8.1903 (OS, pp. 348f).
- 125. One later died, making a total of 38 dead and 48 wounded out of a force of 110; LMB 15.9.1903 (p.117).
- 126. B, p.206.

127. 7-9 November, 30 November - 6 December. cf., B, pp. 206f; IMB 28.11.1903, 9.12.1903 (pp. 119f); and Diary entries (OS, pp.349f).
128. IMG 24.11.1903 (NES, p.32 note 1).
129. IMB 29.11.1903 (p.118).
130. LAH 30.10.1903 (p.214).
131. LAH 13.12.1903 (p.218) (SPA, p.154f); cf., IMB 28.12.1903 (p.120).
132. F.F. 208.1 (01-X, 148).
133. Ibid., cf., supra. pp.258, 304 (note 12).
134. F.F. 208.1 (01-X, 115-50).
135. Ibid. (01-X, 126).
136. Ibid. (01-X, 123).
137. Ibid. (01-X, 148).
138. Ibid. (01-X, 123).
139. Ibid. (01-X, 132, cf., 146).
140. Ibid. (01-X, 133).
141. Ibid. (01-X, 132f).
142. The others were nos. 21 (Detachment from everything which is not God), 28 (Charity, peace, humility and courage towards all men), and 30 (Charity towards the outsider (spiritual benefits)). Ibid. (01-X, 133, 147).
143. Ibid. (01-X, 146).

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE POSSIBILITIES

144. Description used in letter to Mgr. Bonnet 28.5.1904 (LFT, p.253).
145. LHC 15.7.1904 (p.157).
146. Text in P. Lesourd, La vraie figure du Père de Foucauld (Paris: Flammarion, 1933) pp. 249-64; extracts in B, pp. 219-22.

147. B, p.220.
148. Ibid., op. cit., p.259.
149. Ibid., p. 253.
150. B, p.220.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid., p.221.
153. Ibid.
154. Diary entry (OS, pp.355f).
155. Diary entry 17.5.1904 (OS, p.362).
156. Ibid. (OS, p.364).
157. Ibid. (OS, p.362).
158. Ibid., IS, p. 319 note 62. Ibid., 19.5.1904 (TFP, p.164).
159. Ibid., 26.5.1904 (OS, pp.358-60) 'April' is misprint.
160. Ibid. (OS, p.360).
161. Text given in OS, pp. 634f.
162. cf., mention in the prayer of 8 July of numerous male and female evangelical works and of Petits Frères and Soeurs (OS, p.365), and also De Foucauld's own plans for settling at Tit with a companion (OS, pp.359f).
163. OS, p.635.
164. LHC 17.6.1904 (p.153).
165. Ibid. (p.154).
166. cf., LHC 15.7.1904 (p.156).
167. LAH 15.7.1904 (pp. 221f).

TAKING STOCK

168. LAH 25.10.1904 (p.224).
169. 27 November - 7 December 1904, F.F. 232 (01-X, 151-98).

170. LAH 17.12.1904 (pp.225f).
171. F.F. 232 (01-X, 197).
172. Ibid. (01-X, 196).
173. Ibid. (01-X, 187-98).
174. Ibid. (01-X, 191).
175. Ibid. (01-X, 190).
176. Ibid. (01-X, 196).
177. Ibid.
178. Ibid. (01-X, 197).
179. Ibid.
180. Ibid. (01-X, 161).
181. Ibid. (01-X, 176).
182. Ibid. (01-X, 178f., 191f).
183. cf. infra., note 185.
184. F.F. 232 (01-X, 192).
185. Ibid. (01-X, 157f).
186. cf., LHC 14.1.1905 (pp.161-7).
187. Ibid. (p.166).
188. Ibid. (p.167).
189. LMB 21.3.1905 (p.134).

MOVING ON

190. LAH 31.1.1905 (p.229), LMB 31.1.1905 (p.133).
191. LAH 18.4.1905 (p.231).
192. LMB 11.4.1905 (p.135).
193. Guérin personally believed that De Foucauld should stay at Beni-Abbès, but was persuaded by Huvelin and Voillard that the journey would be useful; cf., 1S, p.316 note 49.

194. LAH 18.5.1905 (p.233).

195 LAH 13.7.1905 (p.237).

3 - FURTHER LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE :
LIFE AT TAMANRASSET (1905-1916)

DIGGING IN AGAIN

196. LAH 13.7.1905 (p.236).
197. LMB 18.2.1905 (p.134).
198. LAH 9.2.1908 (p.284).
199. LPA 29.11.1913 (LFT, p.283; cf., LPA 24.7.1914 (LFT, p.284).
200. LPA 25.7.1907 (LFT, p.259).
201. Diary entry 22.7.1905 (OS, pp.368f).
202. cf., Letter to Col. Regnault, 28.10.1905 (AS.2, 85),
LMB 26.8.1905 (p.143).
203. LMB 6.8.1905 (pp.138f).
204. Diary entry 11.8.1905 (OS, pp.370f.; B, p.233).
205. Ibid.
206. IMG 4.2.1902; extracts in B, pp.164-7 (date from CCF 10,
p.27).
207. cf., Letter to Mgr. Livinhac, 2.1.1905 (OS, pp.638-45).
208. cf., infra., p.391.
209. LMB 16.4.1915 (p.236).
210. Biographical summary in TPF, pp.418f.
211. cf., Diary entry of 23.10.1905 (OS, pp.371-4, CCF 8, 48-56).
Further written advice on religious and practical matters
was given at Easter 1912 and in May 1914 (Pottier, op.cit.,
pp.250-8.
212. IMG 22.7.1907 (B, p.262), July? 1908 (B, pp.269f). Moussa's
attempt to collect tithes for a mosque and a Zaouia failed,
causing a return to the status quo; IMG early 1908 (B,
pp.267f) but this was only a temporary respite.
213. LHC 28.10.1905 (p.176); cf., LRB 2.4.1906 (OS, p.741).
214. Ibid. (p.177).
215. LAH 26.10.1905 (p.241).
216. Ibid.

217. Ibid. (p.245).
218. LAH* 5.1.1906 (p.252).
219. LAH 1.12.1905 (pp.246-8).
220. LMB 16.12.1905 (p.146).
221. LMB 15.1.1906 (p.148).
222. LAH 6.4.1906 (pp.253f).
223. LAH 15.7.1906 (p.262). For the significance of 'St. Magdalene at the Sainte-Baume cf., supra, p. 275.
224. LMB 15.7.1906 (pp.150f).
225. Ibid., and B, p.247. It is not clear if he went on this trip, or if he began it but the snake bite received on 11 August caused it to be abandoned.
226. cf., TPF, pp.216f.
227. B, p.257.
228. Diary entry 7.3.1907 (OS, p.380). Brother Michele, however, left a glowing account of De Foucauld (B, pp.249-57), whose only fault appeared to be occasional impatience when things did not go as he wished (B, p.253).
229. cf., infra, p.414.
230. B. pp.258f.
231. LMG 2.7.1907 (B, pp.260f).
232. LAH 17.9.1907 (p.271).
233. Ibid. (p.272).
234. LAH 22.11.1907 (p.274).
235. LAC 9.6.1908 (p.46) (SPA, p.182); cf., LMB 16.4.1909 (p.180), and the meditations of February 1916, F.F. 287 (SPA, pp.201-7).
236. LMG 2.7.1907 (IS, p.280).
237. LMB 18.11.1907 (p.163).
238. LMB 8.12.1907 (p.164).
239. LMB 18.11.1907 (p.163).

- 240. LPA 25.7.1907 (LFT, p.259).
- 241. LRBL 25.3.1908 (OS, pp.742f).

LIBERATION ... OR METAMORPHOSIS?

- 242. LMB 24.4.1908 (p.169).
- 243. LAH* 26.10.1908 (p.286).
- 244. LMB 7.12.1908 (p.173).
- 245. Not classified - original mislaid? (Ol-X, 225-7).
- 246. LMB 8.6.1909 (p.182).
- 247. TPF, pp.251-6.
- 248. cf., Diary entry (OS, p.382). The simple hermitage at Asekrem was constructed in about seven weeks and finished at the beginning of July 1910, cf., LMB 16.6.1910, 6.7.1910 (pp.189, 190). The one projected for the Adrar was only mentioned again in LMB 13.10.1909 (p.185) and LMBL 4.1.1910 (OS, p.746), the latter stating that the construction and use of the new hermitages had to await the completion of De Foucauld's language studies. These never were to be concluded (cf., pp.416ff*infra*), so it is not surprising that the Adrar project was abandoned, for the site was 500 - 600 km from Tamanrasset compared with Asekrem's 50 - 60 km, which would have meant taking ten times as much time from study in order to travel.
- 249. For which purpose the methodical De Foucauld planned three possible routes, one of which seemed acceptable. cf., Diary entry (OS, pp.386f).
- 250. Letter to Massignon 8.9.1909, in Les mardis de Dar-el-Salam, Cahier Foucauld - Peyriguere, 7 (1958-9) 37-41.
- 251. TPF, pp.266-71.
- 252. B, p.306.
- 253. B, p.312. Moussa had been taken to France by Laperrine in 1910 (B, p.294). Ouksem Ag Chikkat was then selected as a likely future leader whose attitude towards the French would be very influential (TPF, p.421).

254. TPF, p.288.
255. TPF, p.290.
256. The second trip had lasted four weeks instead of three, following Huvelin's advice to stay longer (OS, p.383) but qualifying it by a wish to be back in the Sahara for Holy Week. OS, p.383, IMB 1.8.1910 (p.191).
257. B, p.312.
258. IMB 19.3.1911 (p.195).
259. IHC 28.11.1913 (p.205); cf., IHC 1.5.1914 (p.207).
260. LPA 12.12.1914 (LFT, p.286).
261. Letter to Col. Voinot, 22.4.1910 (AS.2, 127).
262. Letter to Col. Regnault, 11.4.1910 (AS.2, 92).
263. IMB 1.1.1910 (pp.187f).
264. In Construire xiii (1943), reprinted in D. and R. Barrat, Charles de Foucauld et la fraternité (Paris: Seuil, 1958) pp.54-9.
265. For his description of both, cf., Letter to Gabriel Tourdes 16.6.1911 (TPF, p.273); and preference for Asekrem, cf., IHC 8.1.1913 (p.117).
266. Barrat, op.cit., p.56.
267. Ibid., p.58.
268. Ibid., pp.58f.
269. 13.5.1911 (LFT, pp.273-76) (LD, pp.127-30).
270. Ibid. (LFT, p.274) (LD, p.128).
271. Ibid. (LFT, p.274) (LD, p.129).
272. Ibid. (LFT, p.275) (LD, p.130).
273. cf., note 172 and p. 367 supra.
274. Ibid.
275. Letter to Col. Brissaud, 16.1.1912 (AS.2, 305).
276. cf. IMB 13 and 31.10.1909 (p.185).

- 277. Letter to Dr. Vermale, 26.5.1914 (AS.2, 436).
- 278. R. Hérisson, Avec le Père de Foucauld et le Général Laperrine
(Paris: Plon, 1937), p.178.
- 279. Letter to Col. Sigonney, 3.8.1915 (AS.2, 258).
- 280. LHC 17.1.1915 (p.210).
- 281. Between 14.12.1914 and the day of his death, 1.12.1916,
De Foucauld sent a letter with every courier, 41 in all.
Texts in IGL.

4 - THE PRINCIPLE TRANSCENDED

INTEGRATION OF IDENTITIES: INDICATORS OF A TREND

282. Guérin died on 19 March, Huvelin on 10 July.
283. cf., on the bad influence of some troops LHC 13.7.1903 (p.141), on a pointless clash between colonial troops from Algeria and the Niger, Diary entry 16.4.1904 (OS, pp.357f), B.pp.216f, and on the conduct of individual officers, letters to Sigonneux (14.5.1911), Duclos (11.10.1915), Meynier (13.1.1916), AS.2, 222, 185, 420. More generally, De Foucauld frequently expressed concern that France fulfilled her moral and religious responsibilities to her colonies and pointed out the consequences of not doing so. cf. LAH 22.11.1907 (pp.213-7), LAC 11.3.1909 (pp.54f), both translated in SPA pp.173-7, 183-7.
284. cf. note 62 and p.339 supra.
285. LPJ 15.2.1898 (LFT, p.139).

BROTHERS IN ARMS

286. LPJ 15.2.1898 (LFT, p.139).
287. LPJ 27.10.1899 (LFT, p.161).
288. Ibid. (LD, p.72).
289. LDM 5.11.1901 (LFT, p.214).
290. LDM 24.4.1902 (LFT, p.228).
291. LDM 25.1.1903 (LFT, p.244) (LD, pp.111f).
292. LPA 15.7.1915 (LFT, p.289) LD, p.137).
293. LPA 25.9.1915 (LFT, p.291) (LD, p.139).
294. LGL 2.8.1915 (pp.76f), B, pp.324f.
295. From 1901 until the end of 1909 appreciably more letters were sent to ecclesiastical than to military correspondents. The former receiving 9 - 20 a year (total 124), the latter 4 - 16 (total 93). But from 1910 onwards the balance tilted

decisively towards the latter group. Monastic friends were written to 2 - 8 times annually (total 39), while officers received 18-52 letters (total 223), of which 41 were intelligence reports to Laperrine away at the German Front 1914-1916. For further details, cf., Appendix G.

296. But the only study which makes any use of this wealth of material is M. Carrouges, Foucauld devant l'Afrique du Nord (Paris. Cerf, 1961).

ONCE A 'DE FOUCAULD', ALWAYS A 'DE FOUCAULD'?

297. cf., signatures of 1883-1885 reproduced in CCF 6, facing p.137. The analysis which follows is based on the signatures in all the published correspondence, so the pattern revealed might have to be varied slightly in the light of unpublished family letters.
298. 26 January 1890 (LFT, p.23).
299. Although the change was not immediate. No letters to Huvelin survive for the period March 1897 - January 1898, but the new signature used in LAH 16.1.1898 (p.63) was not put on letters to Jérôme until September, LPJ 9.9.1898 (LFT, p.147). Eight earlier ones from 31.5.1897 onwards being signed 'fr. Marie Albéric', as before (LFT, pp.122f).
300. A suggestion (IS, p.242 note 241) probably justified by the extent of Teresa's influence on De Foucauld, cf., pp. 225-262. supra.
301. Provisional Rule, Article XX, op. cit. note 35, p.84.
302. LPJ 8.5.1899 (LFT, p.158), cf. LAH* 16.3.1898 (p.83).
303. Ibid.
304. Letter to Louis de Foucauld 12.4.1897 (B, p.110), which was signed simply 'Charles' (C, pp.161f).
305. LAH 26.3.1900 (p.128).
306. LAH 1.11.1901 (p.195).
307. LAC 1.10.1906 (p.29), LAH 24.11.1906 (p.267).
308. LMB 7.11.1906 (pp.152f).

309. The only Frenchman ever known to call him 'Frère Charles' at his request was a total stranger, an unsympathetic and self-important inspector on the trans-Saharan telegraph project survey of May 1905. cf., Général Laperrine, 'Les étapes de la conversion d'un houzard le Père de Foucauld', Revue de Cavalerie October 1913, reprinted in CCF 8, pp.143-55, p.148; General Dinaux 'L' installation du Père de Foucauld au Hoggar', CCF 3/4, pp.35-43, p.38, L. Lehuraux Au Sahara avec le Père Charles de Foucauld (Paris: Ed St. Paul, 1946), p.71.
310. Baptismal Certificate of Albert-Victor-Jacques Lejeune, 21.10.1906 (TPF, p.217 note 1). The ban on the use of 'Père' goes back to 1899, cf., loc. cit., Note 301.
311. cf., AS.2, 157-277.
312. i.e., with Voinot (6.5.1911), Charlet (16.5.1911), Brissaud (10.7.1911), Nieger (24.11.1911), cf., AS2, 129, 316, 304; and Nieger (24.11.1911) cf., CCF21, pp.87ff. Correspondence which began after this period with Dinaux, Gardel, and Vermales (AS.2) was also signed 'Frère Charles de Foucauld'.
313. LHC 8.1.1913 (p.197).
314. LHC 1.5.1914 (p.208).
315. The first change took place between 8 and 28 July 1913, the second between 26.4.1914 (although that letter was signed 'fr Charles de Jésus') and 24.7.1914, cf., LFT, pp.280-4.
316. In R.P. Chaleur, Charles de Foucauld et Mère Saint-Michel (Paris: Ed. St. Paul, 1946).
317. An undated letter said to have been written after October 1914 bears the new signature.
318. 41 letters 14.12.1914 - 1.12.1916. cf., note 281.
319. 28 letters 22.2.1915 - 31.10.1916, AS.1, 159-264.
320. i.e., with his first cousin Charles de Lagabbe the change came between 16.8.1913 and 5.11.1913, with Col. Georges Martin, between 26.11.1913 and 10.2.1914, cf., CCF 21 pp. 50-54, whilst the change with Henry de Castries also predated the War, cf., note 312.

321. i.e., with J. Hours (21.10.1914), cf., CCF 16, Meynier (25.11.1914), AS.2, 403, Elisabeth De Foucauld (17.1.1915) in Ch. de Foucauld, Contemplation, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969), p.186.
322. cf., Notes of 1911-14, F.F. 271 and LPA 15.7.1915 (LFT, p.289).

5 - THE VIEW FROM THE CLOISTER :
CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE

RETREATING WALLS AND WIDENING HORIZONS

323. Lehuriaux, op.cit., note 309, p.70.
324. IM 15.7.1916 (OS, p.777).
325. Ibid.
326. This feeling that if only he made himself holy, God would bless his work, is especially noticeable in the period 1902-1905. Still present, perhaps, in 1907, it is clear that by 1912 De Foucauld had decided that God would work in his own time and way. Cf., IS, pp.284f, 372 and the following letters: IMG 30.9.1902 (CCF 30, p.124), LAH 15.12.1902 (pp.205f), LMB 15.12.1903 (p.113), LMB 3.7.1904 (p.129), LAH 31.1.1905 (p.230), LMB 4.9.1907 (p.162), letter to J. Hours 12.10.1912 (CCF 14, pp.10-13). Nevertheless, Penance: 'sacrifice, the acceptance of crosses sent by God and acts of voluntary mortification authorised by the spiritual director' was still considered in the final 1913 version of the Directoire (F.F. 252) as 'a penitential life like that of Jesus at Nazareth' (D, Article 28, pp.76f) and one of the means of converting souls. Despite the fact that the Congregation of the Inquisition had condemned the title and cult of 'Jésus pénitent' on 15 July 1895. cf., R. Voillaume, Les Fraternités du Père de Foucauld Paris: Cerf, 1946) p.77, note 19.
327. LMB 20.7.1914 (p.229).
328. cf., Note 188 and p.371, supra.
329. cf., Notes 196, 198 and p.374, supra.
330. cf., Note 185 and p.370, supra.
331. cf., Note 21 and p.331, supra.
332. cf., Note 16 and p.330, supra.
333. cf., Notes 166, 167 and p.366, supra.
334. Letter to Col. Regnault, AS.2, 85, cf., Notes 202, 203 and p.375, supra.
335. cf., Note 160 and p.364, supra.

- 336. LHC 15.7.1904 (p.157).
- 337. cf., LMB 14.9.1904 (pp.130f). 'It is not the spiritual solitude which weighs on me, but the lack of material solitude, a few days of silence at the foot of the tabernacle, that is what I feel the need of'.
- 338. LMB 29.1.1916 (p.241).
- 339. Jn 17.11, 21 were quoted in his summaries of the Gospel (F.F. 212, 283-5) and the Diaconate and Ordination Retreats (F.F. 225.2 (01-X,37) F.F.227 (01-X,75)). The meditations interpreting these verses make Jesus' union with the Father and the individual the model, obligation and possibility of fraternal union among men, demonstrated in charity. cf., F.F. 201 (01-VI, 119-21) F.F. 204, F.F. 223 (01-IX.2 69) and the unclassified (?) fragment linked with F.F.218 (01-XI, 242-4).
- 340. cf., p.272 supra, p.421 infra.
- 341. cf., the thinking of Barth and Bonhoeffer, supra. pp.126-143.
- 342. For a survey and criticism cf., Carrouges, op.cit., Note 296, pp.9-15.

STANDING UP FOR JUSTICE AND TRUTH: THE SCANDAL OF SLAVERY (1902-1905)

- 343. LDM 30.12.1901 (LFT, p.219); cf., IMG 19.1.1902, 4.2.1902, 28.6.1902 (CCF 10, pp.24, 25, 30f).
- 344. LHC 15.1.1902 (p.120), 16.6.1902 (p.131). IMG 4.2.1902 (CCF 10, pp.28f).
- 345. LDM 9.1.1902, 17.3.1902 (LFT, pp.220, 226).
- 346. Constitutions: Article 6 (OS, p.421), although it allowed ordinary gifts to be asked for in cases of 'exceptional and pressing necessity'.
- 347. LHC 15.1.1902 (pp.119f), IMG 28.6.1902 (CCF 10, pp.31f).
- 348. LHC 15.1.1902 (p.119).
- 349. LHC 13.4.1902 (p.126).
- 350. IMG 4.2.1902 (CCF 10, p.29); LDM 7.2.1902 (LFT, pp.223f).
- 351. LHC 13.4.1902 (p.126).

- 352. LDM 7.2.1902 (LFT, pp.223f) (LD, p.101).
- 353. Ibid.
- 354. LMG 4.2.1902 (CCF 10, p.28).
- 355. LMG*27.3.1902 (CCF 10, p.29).
- 356. Ibid.
- 357. LMG* 17.9.1902 (CCF 10, pp.35f).
- 358. LMG 30.9.1902 (CCF 10, p.37).
- 359. LMG* 17.9.1902 (CCF 10, pp.33f).
- 360. B, pp.161, 171.
- 361. Ibid., pp.172, 175.
- 362. Freed slaves, that is, who could not be removed from Christian influence by their masters. LDM 25.1.1903 (LFT p.245).
- 363. And the old blind woman, Marie, who was still there in 1905 cf., Note 189 and p.371 , supra.
- 364. Diary entry 12.4.1903 (OS, p.344).
- 365. Quoted in B, p.221.
- 366. LHC 15.12.1904 (p.159).
- 367. To M. le Myre de Vilers (OS. pp.610-15).
- 368. OS, pp. 625f. Against the idea that De Foucauld had only changed his perspective, one should balance the fact that he had found the slaves in the Sahara treated worse than those he had seen in Morocco, or heard about elsewhere; cf., LHC 15.1.1902 (p.118).
- 369. LDM 7.2.1902 (LFT, p.224) (LD p.101f).
- 370. LMG 30.9.1902 (CCF 10, p.38).

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- 371. LMG* 15.12.1903 (Q, p.134 note 34).
- 372. Q, p.144 note 44.

373. IMG* 17.9.1902 (Q, pp.140f).
374. IMG* 15.2.1903, 25.3.1903 (Q, pp.142f).
375. IMG 30.9.1902 (OS, pp.680f).
376. Of both the Touareg and the French, cf., Appendix H.
377. Cf., note 114 and p.353 , supra.
378. B, p.222.
379. IMB 29.3.1904, 3.7.1904, 6.9.1904, (pp.126,129f).
380. IMB 18.2.1905, 21.3.1905 (pp.134f).
381. LAH 26.10.1905 (p.242).
382. LAH 13.7.1905 (p.236).
383. LAH 26.10.1905 (p.242).
384. LAH 1.12.1905 (p.248).
385. LAH 22.11.1907 (p.275).
386. LAH 23.3.1907 (p.268).
387. IMB 16.12.1905 (p.147), LAH 17.7.1907 (p.272), LAH 22.11.1907 (p.275).
388. LAH 15.7.1906 (p.261).
389. LAH 9.2.1903 (p.284).
390. LAH 4.12.1909 (p.291), LRB 4.1.1910 (OS, p.746),
IMB 22.9.1911 (p.201), IMB 2.8.1915 (OS, p.727).
391. IMB 24.6.1908 (p.172); cf., IGL 18.11.1915 (p.97).
392. IMB 24.6.1908 (p.171).
393. IMB 26.1.1908 (p.167).
394. IMB 16.12.1911 (p.203).
395. IMB 28.4.1907 (p.158), cf., LAH 22.11.1907 (p.274).
396. IMB 15.8.1912 (p.210).
397. IMB 8.1.1913 (p.215).
398. LRBL 10.2.1914 (OS, p.748), cf., IMB 16.5.1912 (p.208).

399. LPA 26.4.1914 (LFT, p.283).
400. Cf., IGL 2.8.1915 (p.77).
401. Diary entry, (OS, p.392). Cf., IGL 7.9.1915 - 18.11.1915 (pp.82-97 passim).
402. IGL 31.10.1915 (p.94).
403. IGL 18.11.1915 (p.97).
404. Cf., IS, pp.408f, IGL 28.6.1915 (p.73).
405. LMB 26.1.1908 (p.167).
406. Cf., p. 386 supra, and note 248.
407. LMB 24.6.1912 (p.208).
408. LMB 16.4.1912 (p.207).
409. LMB 10.5.1912 (p.208).
410. Cf., p. 393 , supra.
411. G. Ganne, Tamanrasset ou le Désert Fertile (Paris:Editions S.O.S. 1975), pp.189f.
412. LMB 20.4.1906 (p.149).
413. Cf., supra, p. 299.
414. LMB 20.9.1908 (p.172).
415. Letter to L. Mercier 30.5.1908, in CCF 39.
416. Cf., note 250.
417. Cf., Appendix I.
418. Hérisson, op.cit., note 273, p.176.
419. B, p.288.
420. Lehuraux, op.cit., note 309, pp.90f.
421. Letters to Gardel 28.12.1913, 10.2.1914, 26.4.1914; (AS.2, 370-75).
422. Letter to Vermale 26.2.1914 (AS.2, 437).
423. As he said himself, cf., LMB 5.3.1904 (p.126).
424. IMG May? 1908 (B, p.267).

CHAPTER SIX : 'I LONG FOR NAZARETH' :
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AN IDEAL

ORIGIN AND INFLUENCE

De Foucauld's original exclamation: 'I long for Nazareth!' dates back to the occasion in 1894 when he left the monastery at Akbès in order to visit a dying man in the nearby village and was struck by the degree of poverty he saw.¹ The conditions there, reminiscent of the squalor of streets he had seen in Nazareth on his 1886 pilgrimage,² made a lasting impression on him, and influenced the content of all his Rules. For however far De Foucauld developed his thinking about spiritual poverty or total reliance on God alone, it was always to be matched by a factual poverty and lack of material security which made such reliance both real and continuous.

The evolution of De Foucauld's concept of 'Nazareth' during the period which culminated with his ordination and the realisation that the Nazareth life did not have to be lived in Nazareth has already been outlined.³ The slow purification of his concept of Nazareth from the monastic interpretation which saw it almost exclusively in terms of enclosure has also been dealt with.⁴ So it remains only to trace the way in which other aspects of the Nazareth idea were maintained or modified during the Saharan years, when the opportunity for attempting a primarily literalistic imitation of Jesus' life at Nazareth was no longer available.

When De Foucauld composed his formal request for official permission to go to the Sahara he did not mention the word 'Nazareth' at all, but the letter of 22 August 1901 to Mgr. Bazin encompassed all the elements of the concept and emphasised each according to the understanding reached in his Rule. De Foucauld asked for two things:

...(1) The faculty of setting up between Ain Sefra and the Twat, in one of the French garrisons which has no priest, a little public oratory, with the Sacrament reserved for the needs of the sick, and to reside and administer the Sacraments there; (2) authorisation to associate with me companions, priests or laymen, if Jesus sends them, and with them to practise adoration of the Blessed Sacrament exposed.

If you deign to grant me this twofold request I shall reside there as chaplain of this humble oratory without the title of parish priest or curate or chaplain, and without any emolument, living as a monk, following the Rule of St. Augustine, either alone or with Brethren, in prayer, poverty, work and charity, without preaching, and not going out to administer the Sacraments, in silence and enclosed.

The object is to give spiritual help to our soldiers, to prevent their souls being lost for want of the Last Sacraments, and above all to sanctify the infidel populations by bringing into their midst Jesus present in the most Blessed Sacrament, as Mary sanctified the House of St. John the Baptist by bringing Jesus into it.⁵

However, although this is a very clear summary of De Foucauld's thinking, it is also almost the last occasion⁶ on which he used the analogy of the Visitation to describe his main aim. So although this Mystery was to be permanently represented in one of the wall paintings of the Beni-Abbès chapel, and the idea of silent sanctification of non-Christian nations never dropped out of De Foucauld's thought, this point would seem to mark the beginning of a process in which it gradually ceased to exercise a dominating influence over his conception of his vocation.

The easiest way to observe this change is to compare the statement which introduced the 1899 / 1901 Rule with De Foucauld's final formulation of his ideas in the 1911 Letter to Father Antonin. The Preliminary Article of the Rule states:

The Petits Frères du Sacré Coeur de Jésus have for their specific vocation to imitate the hidden life of our Lord at Nazareth, to adore night and day the Blessed Sacrament perpetually exposed and to live in mission countries. Their aim is to glorify God in conforming their life to that of our Lord Jesus in adoring the holy Eucharist and in sanctifying unbelieving peoples through the presence of the Holy Sacrament, the offering of the divine sacrifice, and the practice of the evangelical virtues.⁷

whilst Father Antonin was informed:

You ask me what my life consists of:

It is the life of a missionary monk based on the following three principles: imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth; exposition and adoration of the most blessed Sacrament; living amongst forsaken and infidel peoples and doing everything possible for their conversion.⁸

The addition of the latter, 'doing everything possible for their conversion', is the significant phrase. For De Foucauld came over the years to relax his rigid ideas of what his vocation permitted or did not permit him to do. The previous chapter has shown how his views about monastic enclosure changed and his involvement in non-religious activities developed. Sometimes the impulse came from the advice or direction of other people, sometimes from his own ideas (although they can usually be traced to a literary source), and often from concrete situations which required a response.

It has been noted how hesitant De Foucauld was to allow his behaviour to be modified, but it must still be asked whether, despite his caution, his vocation to imitate the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth was modified or abandoned. Did the provision, 'doing everything possible for their conversion', mark a broadening or a breach?

Certainly, De Foucauld did not change his view of what the Nazareth life signified, for only five months before his death⁹ he wrote of Jesus taking the 'lowest place' and living a life of poverty, obedience, humility, obscurity, work and prayer, in exactly the same terms as he had in the Holy Land, nearly twenty years before. One could well ask how far De Foucauld had lived up to any one of these ideals, but for the moment it is his own perception of this concept which is of interest. He did not alter his views about poverty or obedience, and firmly applied his understanding of humility and obscurity in several situations.

In 1906 he had wondered whether the idea to have his collection of extracts from the Gospels published for the edification of other people was valid: 'I had first rejected this thought, as not much in conformity to the life of Nazareth, to silence, to humility'.¹⁰ The matter was left to Huvelin's judgment in this instance,¹¹ but on other occasions De Foucauld made his own decisions. Thus in 1907-1908 he forbade the publication of his Touareg studies under his own name for the same reason,¹² and in 1914 declined the award of a military medal in public recognition of his services to France in Morocco and the Sahara. As far as the current French success in Morocco was concerned, De Foucauld observed: 'I have not contributed a single brick to its building - at the most I brought a plank for the scaffolding', and he was equally humble about the medal:

...I would rather keep that lowest place which our Lord Jesus Christ himself chose and in so doing set an example to us. The Touareg see the decoration on the tunics of our officers and know that thereby France gives honour to bravery and merit, but I wish to remain as insignificant as possible, as did the divine Carpenter of Nazareth.¹³

One might also suggest that De Foucauld could have argued from his idea of being a universal brother that it would be unwise to accept such a decoration, and in the light of Nieger's view that he was positively biased towards the Touareg¹⁴ it could even be said that he would not have valued such recognition from the French authorities. However, the only reason De Foucauld did give was based on his feeling about what Jesus would have done.

It might be said that three such incidents separated by several years were too slight a foundation to support an argument. But it must be appreciated that they were the only novel situations to arise in the relatively peaceful years after 1905, apart from those that were dealt with

under the category of enclosure. During the time he was at Tamanrasset, De Foucauld generally felt that his life continued on a regular pattern, both internally and externally, and so he had little need either to seek guidance or re-examine his principles.¹⁵ Indeed, as the 1911 letter, and the 1913 revision of the Directoire¹⁶ of the Union des Frères et Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur de Jesus, show, these principles were firmly maintained although their application was not so minutely prescribed. However, before consideration is given to this development, attention must be given to the years before De Foucauld settled down at Tamanrasset: to 1902 and 1903 when he was mainly concerned with the assessment of his life so far, and to 1904 and 1905 when the accent was more on planning for the future.

'NAZARETH' IN NORTH AFRICA: FIRST ASSESSMENTS

Besides invoking the example of Jesus at Nazareth on the question of speaking and keeping silent,¹⁷ De Foucauld's first retreat at Beni-Abbès also referred to other characteristics of the Nazareth life. The virtues he picked out, those of obedience,¹⁸ gentleness, humility, abjection, charity, service to others,¹⁹ and poverty,²⁰ were strictly secondary in De Foucauld's thought at this time to the question of enclosure. But they did produce general resolutions to imitate Jesus more closely in these respects, particularly in the matter of obedience and poverty.

Obedience to a spiritual director's guidance when making decisions was to be encouraged for its own sake: 'Make as many acts of obedience as possible, not only to be certain of doing the will of God, but even more to imitate Jesus "submissive at Nazareth"',²¹ whilst on the subject of possessions De Foucauld resolved: 'Have nothing more nor better than Jesus had at Nazareth...Rejoice to be in want'.²² Finally, the penitential aspect of the Nazareth life was brought out in the resolution combining abjection and

service to others: 'Fix for myself a certain number of very abject daily tasks and do them, like Jesus at Nazareth "come to serve"...',²³

Imitation of Jesus in obedience and poverty were also themes which had a bearing on the conversations between De Foucauld and Guérin which took place in June 1903. The Apostolic Prefect, it will be remembered,²⁴ rather disconcerted De Foucauld by attempting to transform his hidden life of Nazareth into a more missionary-oriented one. This new idea was rejected at first, but De Foucauld quite quickly changed his mind and enthusiastically endorsed it. No doubt a major factor in this change in outlook was simply submission to the advice of his Superior. However, Guérin had not just imposed an alternative point of view by virtue of his authority, but had introduced and supported it in terms De Foucauld could understand: the imitation of Christ, Imitation of Christ, that is, in the context of imitation of St. Paul as an imitator of Christ: 'The Holy Spirit recalls us, through St. Paul, to the pure and simple imitation of Jesus, as the best means to save souls'.²⁵

In the face of De Foucauld's overwhelming concern for the poor, Guérin pointed out²⁶ that neither Jesus nor St. Paul neglected the evangelisation of the rich. In addition, there were the practical considerations to note that such people would be likely to make genuine converts rather than 'rice'Christians, and their influence would be beneficial to the poor. Insofar as De Foucauld cultivated the friendship of Moussa Ag Amastane and Ouksem, he may be said to have followed this advice, but he never had cause to revoke his belief that Jesus had a predilection for the poor and the most forsaken individuals or nations.

However, Guérin's main objective was to show that there should be preaching by word as well as by example in the Christian approach to the Saharan Muslims. In his view they only held their beliefs through tradition

and the authority of contemporary marabouts, so all that the Christians had to do was to 'try to gain their confidence, and to acquire more authority than those who surround them and indoctrinate them'.²⁷ This required three things:

1st, to be very holy; 2nd, to show ourselves to the natives a great deal; and 3rd, to speak a good deal to them. Holiness (which is the principal) will give us the authority and inspire confidence, sooner or later. Constantly seeing us will bring them around to our cause, and, if we are holy, will be a mute preaching and an increasing strengthening of our authority. Frequent talking is the means indicated by St. Paul: "How will they be converted if nobody preaches to them!".²⁸

Thus having, as it were, sown the seed, Guérin went on to speak in terms of Jesus' life at Nazareth, as if to reassure De Foucauld, whilst at the same time underlining the connection between the life of Jesus and the life of St. Paul.

To bring Musulmans to God, must we try to make them esteem us by excelling in things which they esteem; for instance, by being audacious, a good horseman, a good shot, and slightly ostentatious in liberality, etc., or by practising the Gospel in its abjection and poverty, going about on foot and without luggage, working with our hands as Jesus in Nazareth, living poorly, like a petty workman? It is not from the Chambaa that we ought to learn to live, but from Jesus. We ought not to take lessons from them, but to give them some, Jesus said to us: "Follow me". St. Paul has told us: "Be imitators of me as I am the imitator of Christ". Jesus knew the best way of bringing souls to Himself. St. Paul was his incomparable disciple. Do we hope to do better than them! The Musulmans do not make a mistake there. Of a priest who is a good horseman, a good shot, etc., they say that he is an excellent horseman, no one shoots like him: at a pinch they may add: He would be worthy to be a Chambi. They do not say: He is a saint. Let a missionary lead the life of St. Anthony, they all say: He is a saint. With natural reason, they will often give their friendship to the first; if they give their confidence, with regard to the things of the soul, they will only give it to the second. Let us not lay hold of, to bring souls to God, such feelings or those which are not recommended to us by the Holy Spirit. Let us take as master St. Paul, who has made sufficient conversions, in difficult enough connections, and who has told us all through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit: "Be imitators of me as I am the imitator of Christ". The Holy Spirit recalls us, through St. Paul, to the pure and simple imitation of Jesus, as the best means to save souls. "Follow me...He who wishes to serve me, follows me... He who follows me does not walk in the darkness. The disciple is not greater than the master, he is perfect if he is like the master".²⁹

Guérin had also pointed out that De Foucauld's building plan was too ambitious and that the silent witness of the Fraternity was contrary to the message he wished to convey about the Jesus who 'did not have a stone on which to lay his head'.³⁰ So when De Foucauld decided to go with Laperrine on a tour of the Southern district of the Sahara, he remembered this and planned to construct only a 'Nazareth-size' hermitage to settle in when he got there.³¹ The realisation of this project was delayed partly by Guérin's testing of De Foucauld's new outlook on life, and partly by the events which led up to the battle of Taghit,³² so another annual retreat intervened before De Foucauld could leave Beni-Abbès.

When he returned from treating the wounded and finished his retreat, De Foucauld's deliberations about Nazareth were divided between the question of temporarily suspending his rule of enclosure,³³ and the question of his fidelity to the Nazareth life within the enclosure. On the latter point he asked himself:

Do I fulfil my office of almoner with the charity, gentleness, and interior spirit required in imitating Jesus at Nazareth and in doing it breathe out the perfume of his virtues... Did I let Jesus live and act in me in these functions?³⁴

No direct answer was given, but one may deduce that De Foucauld was not satisfied with himself, for he resolved:

...to apply myself especially to discharge the function of sacristan as the Holy Virgin did and that of almoner as Jesus did at Nazareth.³⁵

One can appreciate that De Foucauld considered the house at Nazareth to be a holy place in which Jesus was the priest and the chaplain, and Mary was the server,³⁶ but this still does not give any material example to follow, except in the implication that they discharged their duties perfectly. So the point of interest here has little to do with the concept of Nazareth per se, but is the more general one of the relationship between imitation,

self-sanctification or perfection, and the context of Christ's indwelling of the believer. However, when De Foucauld did set out on his tour of the Sahara and seriously considered a new location for him to settle down in, the question of Nazareth became more important and the associated considerations more theologically significant.

TESTING NEW OPTIONS

On 17 May 1904, as the military expedition neared the centre of the Hoggar, De Foucauld made a long meditation³⁷ on the way he should follow his vocation if he was able to stay in Touareg country, part of this vocation being the imitation of the hidden life of Jesus according to the Rule of the Petits Frères, part the establishing and developing of Fraternities.³⁸ From the extracts from De Foucauld's deliberations which follow, two things will be noticed: firstly, that he considered his achievements and outlined his intentions in the light of his understanding of the Nazareth life and secondly, that the Rule of the Petits Frères is described as embracing the redemptive aspect of Jesus' life as well; involving the imitation in everything of 'Jesus at Nazareth and Jesus on the Cross'.³⁹

On the first count, the application of the Nazareth life as a yardstick, De Foucauld considered that imitating the humility and poverty of Jesus at Nazareth would mean that he should construct a temporary dwelling, sufficient for his and his companion's immediate needs. So, instead of laying out a Fraternity for 25 Petits Frères or seeking to dispense hospitality on that scale as he had done at Beni-Abbès; De Foucauld would be content with a small oratory (2m10 x 1m40) and a shelter. Likewise, his charity would be matched with his means, derived, he hoped, from some cultivation, gardening or handicraft; following the Rule and the example of Jesus.⁴⁰

These preparations completed, De Foucauld wished to live, 'in poverty, holiness and love',⁴¹ a life of ceaseless contemplation of Jesus in daily work, nocturnal prayer and adoration of the divine Host. Imitating Jesus in giving first place to the spiritual, but also in doing all he could, all that Jesus 'did at Nazareth to save souls, to sanctify, console, and help them, in Him, through Him, like Him, for Him...'⁴²

How was this to be done? De Foucauld answered his question in themes drawn from Isaiah 53, as well as from his concept of Nazareth:

Silently, secretly like Jesus at Nazareth, in obscurity, like Him, "to pass unknown on the earth, like a traveller in the night"....., poorly, laboriously, humbly, gently, with kindness like Him... unarmed and mute before injustice like Him, letting myself, like the divine Lamb, be shorn, and sacrificed without resistance, nor speech; imitating in everything Jesus at Nazareth and Jesus on the Cross, and when in doubt about the way to conduct myself and to follow the Rule of the Petits Frères du Sacré Cœur de Jésus, to always conform myself to the behaviour of Jesus at Nazareth and Jesus on the Cross, since the first duty of the Petits Frères du Sacré Cœur and myself, the first article of their vocation and mine, of their Rule and mine, that which is written for them and for me by God, in capite libri, is to imitate Jesus in his life of Nazareth, and, when the time comes, to imitate him in his Way of the Cross and his death⁴³

Here, then, is a third modification of the concept of the Nazareth life. The first was the relaxation of the dominant stress on the eucharistic and contemplative life which was signified by the abandonment of comparison with the Visitation. The second was the introduction of a more apostolic outlook by way of considering the life of St. Paul, although this suggestion from Guérin took years to assimilate. For only when De Foucauld reached his 1911 statement that he would do everything possible for the conversion of unbelievers could he be said to have made St. Paul's approach his own, although he had at least momentarily adopted this position at the beginning of 1903, before Guérin's visit. However, De Foucauld himself hardly ever mentioned St. Paul during these years,⁴⁴

so his conscious policy was not one of an imitation of Christ mediated through an imitation of St. Paul; but rather a more broadly based concept of the imitatio Christi.

This third modification of the Nazareth ideal: 'to imitate Jesus in his life of Nazareth, and, when the time comes, to imitate him in his Way of the Cross and his death', has obvious reference to De Foucauld's desire for a martyr's death. But there is also the overlap between Nazareth and the Cross of the ideas of abjection, humiliation, and suffering, in life as much as in death. As De Foucauld looked forwards he could see that living in the centre of the Hoggar would involve both physical and spiritual isolation. He would be alone most of the time, and more seriously as far as De Foucauld was concerned, few of his visitors would be Christians who could act as servers and so allow him to celebrate the eucharist. In addition, settling in the middle of the Sahara would also mean at least a modification of his hope to get followers to join him in the immediate future, although the suffering stemming from this unrealised dream was only to become acute later on, when De Foucauld realised that nobody was going to join him.

Mention of this last matter of psychological suffering raises the question as to how precise an understanding of the Cross De Foucauld came to. For on one hand there are times when he would talk of 'bearing a cross' in the loose sense of living under difficulties or in the face of physical suffering;⁴⁵ whilst on the other, one could argue that some of these sufferings were only experienced in the course of following one's vocation to love one's neighbour in a particular way,⁴⁶ and so they would be at least analogous to the sufferings of Jesus in the sense that they had the same motivation. However, the question is complicated by the fact that in terms of his understanding of penance and the priest's offering of the mass,

De Foucauld could think of analogous effectiveness as well as analogous motivation. Yet even this would have to be looked at in the light of his belief and frequent prayer that it was no longer he who lived, but Christ who lived and acted in him, principally through the nourishment of the eucharist. These issues are pursued elsewhere,⁴⁷ all that needs to be asked here is how far the 1904 diary entry marked a change in De Foucauld's outlook. From what has been said about the overlap of the themes treated under 'Nazareth' and 'Cross', it will be appreciated that the question is one of the reorientation of ideas rather than the adoption of new ones. It is possible that this owes its origin to De Foucauld's work on a catechism⁴⁸ the previous year, for that describes the Christian life as imitation of Christ and the glorious way of the Cross,⁴⁹ (after the De Imitatione, 2.12⁵⁰), and makes no mention of 'Nazareth' although it deals in the same ideas. Certainly, neither of these writings reveal any new concepts, although it may be said that treating familiar ideas under the heading of the Cross marks the beginning of a certain integration in De Foucauld's thinking. Instead of considering Jesus' life as one made up of three autonomous stages which legitimate three different interpretations of the Christian life, De Foucauld came to see that none of them made any sense apart from the Cross, and that Jesus' motivation was constant throughout. This perception was to lead eventually to a breaking down of the rigid barriers in his thought between these three states of life, although at this point De Foucauld was still very much concerned with Nazareth, as may be seen from the next occasion on which he pondered on his vocation.

A few days after recording his thoughts about imitating Jesus at Nazareth and on the Cross, De Foucauld had to consider things again in the light of a choice he had to make. At Tit, the place where the expedition had halted, there were two possible sites for setting up a dwelling which

might eventually become a Fraternity. De Foucauld could use the natural shelter of a cave and rocks by the river, or build an oratory on the summit 120m above the valley floor. The latter would be more difficult to construct, but it would guarantee peace and quiet with God. What was he to do? On reflection, the answer seemed quite clear:

Today and in the future, if you can, establish yourself in the first spot, amongst these rocks like those of Bethlehem and Nazareth, where you have both the perfection of my imitation and that of charity, and so far as meditation is concerned it is love which should make you inwardly recollected in me, and not separation from my children: see me in them, and like me at Nazareth, live near them lost in God. Amongst these rocks where I have led you myself, despite yourself, you have the imitation of my dwellings of Bethlehem and Nazareth, the imitation of all my life of Nazareth, charity for the inhabitants of the place, and for travellers, being within their reach, charity for your companion through lessening his toils a great deal, recollection through suppressing the distractions of this long work of construction on a mountain; poverty in cutting down the cost of this difficult building; humility in having, like me, a humble, poor, and hidden dwelling, instead of having one visible from afar; the hope to do more good, in being in closer contact with souls, that of having Brothers one day occupying a place where they can multiply and become a regular Fraternity; finally, what is immeasurable, you have the presence of the Most Holy Sacrament in the tabernacle, in a very short time, for in a few days you can install an oratory.⁵¹

In other words, apart from a change of outlook in the matter of having an internalised as opposed to a physical enclosure ('... it is love which should make you inwardly recollected in me and not separation from my children...'), De Foucauld's views were unaltered. He kept in mind both aspects of his vocation: his personal following of the Nazareth life and his mission to establish the Petits Frères. As far as the former was concerned he maintained a certain literalness in his interpretation ('Amongst these rocks...you have the imitation of my dwellings at Bethlehem and Nazareth,...'), was consistent in his understanding of the virtues implied ('charity...recollection...poverty...humility'), and preserved the priority of its apostolic method: sanctification of unbelievers through

the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

So it is not surprising that De Foucauld was soon to record with emotion the occasion of the first ever tabernacle for the reserved sacrament being set up in Touareg country,⁵² and also his determination to continue pursuing the Nazareth life, either there, or back at Beni-Abbès.⁵³ Thus in his retreat at the end of the year⁵⁴ De Foucauld resolved to follow the Rule of the Petits Frères closely so as to be faithful to the 'life of retreat, to the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth', which God wished of him.⁵⁵ He was sure that he had this vocation to follow 'this life, not only in its broad outlines, but in a way as faithful as possible in every respect: after fifteen years of researches', he concluded, 'I have found nothing which gives it as faithfully as this Rule, practising the Rule since six years ago (Christmas 98), I have always met with good in following it, with bad in departing from it'.⁵⁶

This fidelity to the Nazareth life meant living it in remote unbelieving countries,⁵⁷ and paying particular attention to Jesus' poverty and his way of showing practical love. In the first matter, De Foucauld decided to take stock of his possessions twice a year and give away anything he did not need or which was not consistent with Jesus' poverty.⁵⁸ In the second case, De Foucauld thought that Jesus would have distributed small quantities of alms at any one time, and given modest hospitality to a few, poor, well-behaved people. The basic principle to remember was that gifts should only be made to those to whom they would be spiritually profitable.⁵⁹ Hence De Foucauld preferred to pay people for working in his garden rather than subsidise the lazy,⁶⁰ and to give of himself rather than merely of his money. This worked out

...not in seeking to have much money in order to give much (a thing very contrary to the example of Jesus) but in giving the little that I have with much charity, and in giving not only my humble provisions, but also my trouble, my time, and all the marks of fraternal equality and fraternal eagerness to welcome warmly (for example when a guest arrives, instead of giving him barley and telling him to make his own bread, grind his barley myself, knead his bread for him, bake it for him and offer it to him: do simply what the Holy Virgin and Our Lord Jesus used to do in a similar case at Nazareth) on condition of having nothing more clearly wished of me by the good God at this time.⁶¹

This was an astute approach, certainly, but one would have thought that only the basic principles of giving according to one's means and in a spirit of charity could be traced back to Jesus, and then only by inference to the Nazareth years. The practical wisdom would be more directly attributable to De Foucauld's own experience at Nazareth,⁶² or in his first year at Beni-Abbes; in which he found, as Huvelin had in Paris, that the injunction to 'Give to those who ask' could not be applied simpliciter.⁶³

The third issue⁶⁴ on which the example of Jesus at Nazareth was called upon was the question of journeys, and, as has been noted previously,⁶⁵ De Foucauld decided that they were temporary exceptions to his hidden life at Nazareth which required strong justification in each instance.

Such justification seemed available for De Foucauld to set out from Beni-Abbes on a second tour of the southern regions of the country in 1905, although it took him somewhat longer to decide that it would be permissible to travel regularly between the settlements in which he intended to lead the Nazareth life. However, De Foucauld did reach this modification of his strict rule of enclosure, and also came to a more flexible understanding of other aspects of the 'hidden life'. Again, as in 1904, a shift in De Foucauld's theological focus was to accompany his altered outlook on his Rule. In 1904 it had been a matter of centralising his understanding of

the Christian life on the Cross. In 1905 the theological context was widened further in that De Foucauld's meditations⁶⁶ summarised the gospel under the headings of each of the Mysteries of Christ's life. No particular prominence was given to Nazareth and the Visitation, whilst the balance between all the aspects of Jesus' life more accurately reflected the space and importance accorded to each of them in the Gospels; apart, that is, from extended reference to the Flight into Egypt, which De Foucauld later came to understand as a model to be followed in the periods he was on journeys.⁶⁷ However, at this particular point he was still at Beni-Abbes and determined to stay there, so the Flight was taken to illustrate the more general virtues of poverty, suffering, joy, and readiness to do God's will immediately.

But it soon seemed to be indicated that God's will was that De Foucauld should begin his travels again, and mid-July found him in a situation similar to that of the year before. He had entered the area where he wished to settle, so his thoughts turned once more to his vocation and its future development. The long entry in De Foucauld's diary under the date of 22 July, seems to have served two functions, one of which was to confirm his ideal, the other to project it into the future with a certain degree of flexibility, the last sentence of the diary note being the most significant one: 'Your life of Nazareth can be led anywhere: lead it in the place which is most useful for your neighbour'. This understanding both reflected the general understanding of the Nazareth life which Huvelin had always advanced, and echoed the discovery that De Foucauld had made during his ordination retreat that he should not go to live his vocation in the place where the land was most holy, but where people were in most need. However, De Foucauld's spiritual interpretation of Nazareth always retained elements of a literalistic one, normally modified by a monastic one in

addition. But these deliberations of 1905 are of interest as a temporary suspension of the latter, for they give priority to the imitation of Jesus' hidden life at Nazareth even over the Rule, which De Foucauld had considered its best embodiment.

The text may be divided into three sections, each of which is of interest. The first summarises De Foucauld's vocation and his means of knowing it. The second is a combination of a temporary mitigation of the Rule and a distinction between the Rule and Jesus' hidden life. The third includes further thoughts on what should be done in the present situation with regard to two particular concerns, one being the question of working for the foundation of Fraternities, which would obviously be more difficult to undertake from the centre of the Sahara. The other was the matter of the balance between work and prayer, a question which he would soon be asking in terms of: Was the increasing investment of time in his lexicographical studies consistent with his vocation or an escape from it?⁶⁸

There is nothing new in the first section, but that in itself is an important observation, for it shows that De Foucauld felt that there was continuity in his Christian life up to that point, a continuity guarded by the principle of love, obedience and imitation:

....Love, obey, imitate. Live by faith, by hope, by charity... Love Jesus, obey Him, imitate Him. Obedience will place you in the states where He wishes you: in these states imitate him. When his will does not clearly show you that He wishes a change in your state, stay in the status quo. In every case imitate Him. Without his imitation, no perfection. And for you, his imitation is very especially your vocation, your duty, your obligation in every moment of your life. His imitation has been set for you at all times, at the head of all your elections, all your retreats, in capite libri; it is the direction of your life. Jesus has established you for ever in the life of Nazareth: the lives of missions and solitude are, for you as for Him, only exceptions: practise them every time that his will indicates it clearly; from the time that it is no more indicated, return to the life of Nazareth.⁶⁹

From this beginning there naturally follows consideration of what imitation of Jesus in the present situation would involve, firstly in the widest terms:

Long for the establishment of the Petits Frères and Petits Soeurs du Sacré Coeur de Jésus. Follow their Rule as one follows a directory, without making a strict duty of it, and only in that which is not contrary to the Nazareth life; take as your aim, whether you are alone, or with a few Brothers, until it is really possible to perfectly lead the life of a Petit Frère and a Petite Soeur in a Nazareth which has enclosure, the life of Nazareth in everything and for everything, in its simplicity and breadth, in using the Rule as a directory, helping you in certain matters to enter the life of Nazareth (for example until the Petits Frères and Petites Soeurs are properly established, no habit - like Jesus of Nazareth, -no enclosure - like Jesus of Nazareth; - no habitation far from all inhabited places, but near a village, - like Jesus at Nazareth; - not less than eight hours work a day (manual or other, manual as far as possible) - like Jesus at Nazareth; - neither great estate, nor large dwelling, nor great expenses, nor even large alms, but extreme poverty in everything - like Jesus at Nazareth... - In a word, in everything: Jesus at Nazareth. Use the Rule of the Petits Frères to help you lead this life, like a devotional book, resolutely deviate from it in everything which does not serve for the perfect imitation of this life.⁷⁰

Finally, the third section, dealing with specific issues, and concluding with general observations about the Nazareth life:

Do not seek to organise, to prepare for the establishment of the Petits Frères du Sacre Coeur de Jesus; Alone, live as if you would always remain alone. If there are two, three, a few, live as if you would never be more numerous. Pray like Jesus, as much as Jesus, always making life Him a very great place for prayer...Like Him also, make a great place for manual work, it is not a time taken from prayer, but given to prayer; the time of your manual work is a time of prayer. Say the Breviary and the Rosary faithfully each day. Love Jesus with all your heart, dilexit multum, and your neighbour as yourself through love of Him... Your life of Nazareth can be led anywhere: lead it in the place which is most useful for your neighbour.⁷¹

One wonders whether De Foucauld was aware of a contradiction in his comparison between the Rule and the Nazareth life. For he seems to be saying both that the Rule was an imperfect guide to the latter, and that the reading of the Rule in the light of the Nazareth life would only be a

temporary expedient. So the only logical conclusion appears to be that De Foucauld's Rule-defined concept of Nazareth was ultimately more significant to him than anything else, although there was a certain amount of flexibility about his approach in the provision that he should take things as they came.

This two-fold interpretation may be supported from the notes De Foucauld wrote in his diary after his first few months residence at Tamanrasset.⁷² On settling there, he had resolved to take Jesus' life at Nazareth as his sole example,⁷³ but for practical purposes this simple statement had to be expanded to a requirement to follow the Rule closely in every situation, and meet problems of interpretation and application with four questions: questions which, it was argued,⁷⁴ led to action 'very much biased towards doing what Jesus would have done on a spiritual level at Nazareth', although the fourth question (about the advice one's spiritual director would give if asked) could allow greater flexibility if it was not manipulated to support decisions arrived at on other grounds.

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Once established at Tamanrasset, his 'desired Nazareth',⁷⁵ De Foucauld had few reasons to think about his way of life apart from asking himself about the propriety of travelling or replacing manual work by intellectual study. But that is not to say that his Nazareth concept was reduced to the questions of enclosure and manual work, only that these issues were the most relevant. For the other aspects of the Nazareth life were still important to him, as may be seen from a very revealing entry in De Foucauld's diary for 17 May 1906:⁷⁶

17 May. Feast of St. Pascal Baylon.

Paul left the Fraternity this morning. O God, make it possible for me to go on celebrating the Holy Sacrifice! Grant that this soul may not be lost. Save it.

During the six festal days between Holy Thursday and Easter Tuesday 12-17 April, made a kind of retreat of which here is the summary and the resolutions.

Reminder of the kind of life that is my vocation. Imitation of Jesus at Nazareth. Adoration of the sacred Host exposed: silent sanctification of unbelieving peoples, by carrying Jesus among them.
His adoration and the imitation of his hidden life.

The summary has 'Imitation of Jesus at Nazareth' underlined twice to stress its importance, and the resolutions which follow reflect this in their pattern. They are also almost completely underlined in the original, thus making the whole entry stand out in the diary.

Reminder of the continual imitation of Jesus in his Nazareth life. Reminder of penance, the narrow way, the cross of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of the poverty of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of the abjection, the humble manual work of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of the retreat, the silence of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of the remoteness from the world, and the things of the world, of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of the life of spiritual communion, of adoration, of praise, of the prayers and vigils of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of zeal for souls in seeking to gather around the sacred Host, in these unbelieving countries, a little family imitating the life of Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of zeal for souls, through charity, goodness, kindness, for all men, like Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of zeal for souls, through gentleness, humility, forgiveness for injuries, the quiet acceptance of ill-treatment, like Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of zeal for souls, through a good example, like Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder of zeal for souls, through prayer, penance, personal sanctification, like Jesus at Nazareth. Reminder to let the Heart of Jesus live in me that it may be no more I who live, but the Heart of Jesus which lives in me, as it lived at Nazareth.

Two things will be immediately apparent about the context and content of the entry. *The first is* that the resolutions of the Easter retreat were only transferred to the diary a month after they were made, as if to act as an encouragement to De Foucauld at a time when the possibility of

fulfilling his dream of establishing any kind of Fraternity seemed more remote than usual, and he had to face a further double disappointment. For not being able to say mass would be both a painful deprivation of his accustomed means of spiritual refreshment, and also felt as a failure in love towards God and man. Mention of this latter consideration leads naturally to the second point to be noticed: De Foucauld's five-times repeated refrain: 'Remember zeal for souls', which shows him at least as much looking outwards as inwards, and ready to move on to the 1911 readiness to do 'everything possible for their conversion', the link between the two outlooks being his conviction in 1906 that the Nazareth life was the only possible approach, although some variation in it was permissible 'according to people, needs and possibilities', at least in regard to the type of work undertaken: 'manual, intellectual or mixed'.⁷⁷

However, this apparently minor deviation from the strict interpretation of the Rule marked the birth of a new theoretical and practical approach which De Foucauld was to summarise eighteen months later in the proposition: '...while making oneself as holy as one can and remembering that one does good insofar as one is good ... our slow and unrewarding means for converting others to Christ are education through contact and instruction'.⁷⁸ For from this conclusion sprang the two missions of the remaining years of De Foucauld's life: his Touareg studies which would help others in the work of communication and teaching, and the establishment of the Union des Frères et Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus which, among other things, would encourage lay people to come out to the Sahara to form Christian colonies and demonstrate their beliefs by their lives.⁷⁹

The Directoire of this proposed Union seems to have been composed around mid 1908⁸⁰ and not materially altered after that, although De Foucauld did simplify it and remove the repetitions. So, since almost identical

editions were published in 1909 and 1913 and no further revisions of the main text⁸¹ were attempted before his death, this Directoire embodies De Foucauld's final observation on the imitation of the hidden life of Jesus at Nazareth, and approaches it in a way similar to the 1911 letter to Father Antonin to which attention must now be given.

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The letter to Father Antonin and the Directoire were addressed to different situations, for the former was written in the hope of attracting mature and experienced priests to join De Foucauld in his own work, whilst the latter was composed more for all kinds of people who would do similar work in the future (at home or abroad), or support those who did so. Yet there is a strong resemblance between the two documents in the way in which they illustrate De Foucauld's firm position on certain matters while allowing a greater flexibility in others.

Thus the 1911 letter shows his perennial concern for literal poverty in terms of food ('there must be no question of introducing European food here which would be a costly luxury'),⁸² clothes and dwellings ('you will find only what is poorest and most rustic, nothing resembling the well cared-for clothes that the Trappists have in France, but very much resembling what Jesus' clothes and dwelling may have been like at Nazareth'.)⁸³, whilst at the same time witnessing to a relaxation of De Foucauld's insistence on manual work and enclosure.

Manual work was still defined as 'poor abject work like our Lord's at Nazareth', but De Foucauld went on to say:

The superior of each small group of two or three will know the aptitudes, inclinations and needs of his brothers, and according to what he judges to be God's will he will direct them either totally to manual work, or partly to manual work and partly to apostolic work, or almost totally to apostolic work.⁸⁴

Such a modification stemmed, as he admitted, from his own experience:

Apostolic work as I have done it up till now and as I envisage it consists in talking as person to person with infidels (and sometimes with Christians); the person entrusted with this task here and as things are would be like a Benedictine with four jobs at once - porter, hosteller, confessor for strangers, pharmacist; however there might be journeys to make, the beginnings of a ministry to fulfil.⁸⁵

Such a provision would allow a more varied way of life than that possible under the Trappist regime and a greater range of responses to the needs of others. It would also be, De Foucauld believed, less complicated, for 'there are none of those little external regulations that Trappists have scrupulously to obey, but just simple family life'.⁸⁶

However much De Foucauld was mistaken in thinking that the following of the Rule of the Petits Frères would be a simple undertaking, not realising that his preference for it was largely a preference for a Rule of his own devising, there is a certain simplicity about the treatment of the Nazareth life in the Directoire for the Union. That is to say, the direct derivations from his understanding of the concept have been reduced to a few essential general principles of which the application is left rather more to the individual, although Nazareth is still the foundation idea, as the basic aim of the members of the Union states:

The Frères and Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus will make their rule to ask themselves in everything what Jesus would think, say, do in their place, and do it. They will make continual efforts to make themselves more and more like our Lord Jesus, taking as model his Nazareth life, which provides examples for all callings⁸⁷.... not only to the celibate but also to married people, since at Nazareth he lived in a family with Mary and Joseph, not to religious alone, but also to people living in the world, since at Nazareth he lived in the midst of the world.⁸⁸

All Frères and Soeurs should make their lives 'through poverty and penance in food, clothes, furniture, dwellings, through remoteness from worldly things, work and devotion to their neighbour, a penitential life like that of Jesus at Nazareth'.⁸⁹ They should also follow Jesus in his contemplative life in their prayers and in doing everything in union with his will,⁹⁰ and, if priests, 'like Mary and Joseph, have Jesus in their hands each day' in the mass,⁹¹ while it went almost without saying that as members of one family they should love one another, and prefer not to claim their rights rather than embark on law suits.⁹²

That is the complete range of references to the Nazareth life in the Directoire, although De Foucauld went on to underline the importance of poverty, as in all his Rules and general thinking; for possession of more goods than Jesus only 'shows how we are different from him'.⁹³ So, as in the Rule for the Petits Frères the need for poverty and penance (now supplemented by humility) in food, clothes, furniture, and buildings, was spelt out in four separate Articles.⁹⁴ The wording in each is almost identical, so it is only necessary to consider the first, which reads as follows:

ARTICLE XXIII. HUMILITY, POVERTY AND PENANCE IN FOOD.

What was the food of Jesus at Nazareth? Who is greater, Jesus or us? Do we love Jesus, do we wish to resemble him, follow him, share his life, be of his family, between Mary and Joseph? The answer to these questions shows us what should be our food, what should be that of true Christians; it shows us how it should be humble and poor, and that always, whether in private, at home, or in varied company, and how it should usually be penitential. Let us regulate ourselves by the example of Him who should be our only model and our supreme love. For the detail, let us pray, reflect, follow the counsels of our spiritual director. The Frères and Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur should try to develop this humility, this poverty and this penance in food which make up part of a truly Christian life among other people. May they develop them in everything which comes under their influence. May they work to pour them out among the unbelievers of the colonies of their homeland, to improve the souls there, to progressively impregnate them with the holy Gospel, and thus dispose them to receive it completely.⁹⁵

It will be noticed that there is no real interest in Jesus' diet. It is merely taken for granted that it was such as to lead his imitators to adopt one which was 'humble and poor ... and ... usually ... penitential', after due prayer, thought, and the advice of a spiritual director, thus giving the widest possible scope for adaptation to particular circumstances. It will also be observed that this most general of De Foucauld's interpretations of the Nazareth life was one which he assumed should be adopted by all 'true Christians': a development which leads to the final matter to be discussed. For this statement brings De Foucauld out from the relatively esoteric area of his own vocation to an assertion that a 'humble and poor ... and ... usually ... penitential' imitatio Christi is the norm for every believer. This belief, linked with the 1906 injunction, 'Reminder of penance, the narrow way, the cross of Jesus of Nazareth',⁹⁶ and the wish expressed way back in 1892 to serve and imitate a 'humiliated and crucified God',⁹⁷ thus invites a familiar question, a question which was asked of Bonhoeffer's thought:⁹⁸ is there a balance between a theologia crucis and a theologia gloriae?

The last two chapters have shown that the relation between De Foucauld's life and thought is far from simple, but they also seem to indicate two other things equally clear. This chapter has indicated that the concept of Nazareth was a living one throughout the Saharan years, always invoked in the assessing of progress and the taking of decisions. The previous chapter argued that De Foucauld came, gradually and hesitantly, but nevertheless irrevocably to an integration of the various aspects of his personality during that period. It is possible that this took place despite his theology, but an investigation of his thought should at least be attempted in order to come to a conclusion about how it stands up on its own as a contribution to general thinking on the imitatio Christi as the pattern of Christian existence.

CHAPTER SIX

NOTES

ORIGIN AND INFLUENCE

1. LMB 10.4.1894 (p.52), cf., p. 194 supra.
2. LMB 24.6.1896 (p.60), cf., p. 192 supra.
3. Cf., pp. 279-82 supra.
4. Cf., Chapter Five.
5. Text in B, pp.144f.
6. Passing mentions were made in the 1905 meditations (F.F. 205), and in the 1909-1913 Directoire which made 'the most Holy Virgin in the mystery of the Visitation' patron saint of the confraternity (D, p.56).
7. F.F. 235, Constitutions: Preliminary Article (OS, pp.419f.).
8. LFT, pp.273-6; LD, pp.127-30, p.128.
9. F.F. 287, 20.6.1916 (SPA, p.211).
10. IAH 20.4.1906 (p.257).
11. Publication was delayed by Huvelin's death but a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript of Le Modèle Unique (F.F.283) appeared in 1935 .
12. Cf., supra p.425.
13. Letter to M. Boudarie 22.7.1914 in TPF, as translated in G. Corré, Memories of Charles de Foucauld (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1938) p.141.
14. Cf., supra p. 391.
15. Cf., supra p. 298.
16. F.F. 252, the basis of the text published in D.

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17. Cf., p. 349 supra.
18. F.F. 230 (01-X, 91f.).
19. Ibid. (01-X, 98).

20. Ibid. (01-X, 107).
21. Ibid. (01-X, 92).
22. Ibid. (01-X, 107).
23. Ibid.
24. Cf., pp.352f supra.
25. Diary entry 19.6.1903 (OS, p.347) underlining as in certified typescript of original.
26. Ibid. (OS, p.346).
27. Ibid. text omitted from OS, but given in B, p.190.
28. Ibid. (OS, p.346; B, p.190) partly underlined in certified typescript.
29. Ibid. (OS, pp.346f; partly in B, pp.190f), underlinings as in certified typescript.
30. OS, p.346.
31. Cf., p. 353 supra.
32. Cf., p. 355 supra.
33. Cf., p. 357 supra.
34. F.F. 208.1 (01-X, 135).
35. Ibid.
36. 01-X, 256, editorial note 51, referring to the 1899 Rule Article XXIV

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37. Following his usual pattern of answering the questions: Quis? Quid? Ubi? Quibus auxiliis? Cur? Quomodo? Quando? Cf., Diary entry (OS, pp.360-4).
38. Ibid. (OS, p.361). The resolution to establish fraternities features on almost every page of the retreat for 1905 (begun on 1.11.1904), and also in the summaries of the resolutions of the 1905, 1908 and 1909 retreats (01-X, 158-85 passion, 201, 217, 221).
39. Ibid. (OS, p.363).
40. Ibid. (OS, p.362).
41. Ibid.

42. Ibid (OS, pp.363f.).
43. OS, p.363, underlinings as in certified typescript of original. The quotation, "to pass unknown on the earth, like a traveller in the night", dates back to at least 1898. Cf., LAH 3.3.1898 (p.75).
44. Cf., p. 278 supra.
45. e.g., with regard to Huvelin's chronic illness (LAH 30.10.1890 (p.2)), with Mme De Bondy's suffering in trying to bring up her unruly children (LAH 8.7.1893 (p.29)).
46. e.g. with regard to Huvelin continuing his demanding ministry despite his suffering, or the Religious Orders being harried by the state. More controversially, in the matter of soldiers being wounded in battle (which assumes that they were in the right).
47. Cf., pp. 255, 405, 405 (note 326) supra.
48. F.F. 325, published as L'Évangile présenté aux Pauvres du Sahara (Grenoble: Arthaud, 1937, 1946 2); ET: Sermons in the Sahara (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1938).
49. Ibid Homily XXI, as reprinted in OS, pp.600-605, p.601).
50. Cf., p.109-112 supra.
51. Diary entry 26.5.1904 (OS, pp.359f), 26 April is a misprint, cf., certified typescript copy of original.
52. Diary entry 8.7.1904 (OS, pp.364f.).
53. Cf., LAH 15.7.1904, 17.12.1904 (pp.212, 226).
54. F.F. 232 (01-X, 151-198).
55. Ibid (01-X, 164).
56. Ibid (01-X, 174).
57. Ibid (01-X, 174) Chapter 16, repeated for Chapters 17-23, 31-40.
58. Ibid (01-X, 163).
59. Ibid (01-X, 193).
60. Ibid (01-X, 194), a principle still utilised in 1909-1910, cf., B, pp.288f.
61. Ibid (01-X, 194).
62. Cf., the absolute principles of De Foucauld's Rules on this point.
63. LAH* 2.9.1902 (p.201).

64. Brief mention was also made of following the Nazareth life with regard to prayer, adoration and fasting (Ol-X, 166, 170).
65. Cf., pp.366f supra.
66. F.F. 205, unpublished, selections (unidentified) in NES.
67. Cf., p.384 supra.
68. Cf., pp.418f supra.
69. Cf., OS, pp.368f; pp.263-6 supra.
70. OS, pp.369f.
71. OS, p.370.
72. Diary entry 1.11.1905, (OS, pp.374f.).
73. Diary entry 11.8.1905, (OS, p.371).
74. Cf., p.300 supra.

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75. IAH 26.10.1905 (p.241), cf., p.378 supra.
76. OS, pp.375f.
77. LAC 1.10.1906 (IS, p.320). The hidden life of Nazareth was also invoked as an encouragement for De Foucauld to persevere alone when it seemed that it would be impossible for White Sisters to join him, cf., LMB 8.3.1908 (p.176).
78. LAC 9.6.1908 (p.45), SPA, p.182.
79. LAC 11.3.1909 (pp.54ff), enclosing the ms of the Directoire and quoting long extracts from Articles 36-38 (D, pp.100-107); cf., SPA, pp.183-7.
80. Cf., Ibid (SPA, p.183), and certified typescript of F.F.245 with date 'Pentecôte 1908' scored through and replaced by '1909'.
81. The statuts were revised in 1916; cf., D, pp. 123-8.

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82. LFT, p.274; LD, p.128.
83. Ibid (LD, p.129).

84. Ibid (LD, p.128).
85. Ibid (LD, pp.128f.).
86. Ibid (LD, p.129).
87. Article I (D, p.40).
88. Article IX (D, p.47).
89. Article XXVIII (D, p.77).
90. Article X (D, p.49).
91. Article XVIII (D, p.59).
92. Article XXXIV (D, pp.96f).
93. Article IX (D, p.48).
94. Articles XXIII-XXVI (D, pp.70-73). Consequently, poverty is to be maintained by giving alms like Jesus at Nazareth, Article XXI (D, p.67), and, quite consistently with De Foucauld's approach, the General Director of the Union is to 'teach still more by example than by word' in following all these requirements, Article XXX (D, p.90).
95. Article XXIII (D, pp.70f.).
96. Cf., p.469 supra.
97. LDM c 2.2.1892 (IFT, p.70).
98. Cf., p.136 supra.

CONCLUSION : THE WAY AHEAD :
THE WILL OF GOD AND THE LOVE OF CHRIST

THE HAPPINESS OF GOD

Discussion of the significance of the concept of 'Nazareth' in De Foucauld's spirituality concluded with the question as to whether this resulted in a one-sided theologia crucis. Answers to this depend upon the context in which the problem is considered, for in terms of the general ethos of the spirituality of the time De Foucauld may be judged to have a more mystical approach than average.¹ Yet in relation to the Franciscan outlook personified in Huvelin, he was more ascetic, and needed a long apprenticeship to Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross to reach the higher stages of the mystical path.²

But although certain sequences of thought have been traced, and certain milestones along the way have been suggested; it is also true that De Foucauld had experiential knowledge of the love and grace of God at all stages in his long spiritual journey. Or, to put it in his terms, De Foucauld enjoyed the 'happiness of God'.³ This could happen even when he was not happy on his own account, but could identify with God's happiness,⁴ although this was sometimes coupled with the feeling that this life was an exile which had to be endured before full happiness could be obtained.⁵ Nevertheless, in his meditations on the Psalms, De Foucauld picked up the note of praise and considered that the highest object of prayer was to admire the divine perfections, especially God's joy.⁶

In addition, such objective praise was to be supplemented by subjective thanks for God's providence, in which one should rejoice in

being able to 'walk hand in hand with Jesus' through every kind of trouble, following him and 'sharing his life and death ... as far as Calvary'.⁷ Hence Christ was imagined as saying that De Foucauld's mind '...should be full of the love of God, forgetful of yourself. It should be full of the contemplation and joy of my beatitude, of compassion and sorrow for my sufferings, and of joy at my joys'.⁸

The balance was important, as De Foucauld pointed out in 1897, when sending a poem to his friend Jérôme:

It expresses a part of the feelings you should desire to have. A part, for if our souls should be full of a sorrow as immense as the sea at the thought of the sufferings of Jesus and at the sins of men, it should also overflow with the infinite happiness of God and the glory of the inhabitants of heaven.⁹

For, De Foucauld concluded, what was inseparable in the soul of Jesus should be so in his followers, conformed and united with him.¹⁰

The Holy Land years also found De Foucauld celebrating the joys of Easter day,¹¹ quoting Aquinas on the lover living less in himself and more in the beloved,¹² and describing obedience as 'joyful' and 'loving'.¹³ Nevertheless, he was aware that he had not always looked at things in this way, admitting that he had become a Trappist in order to seek crosses and had been surprised (as well as thankful) for the joys given him.¹⁴ Indeed, an echo of the former outlook appeared in a comment near the end of De Foucauld's first year of work at Beni-Abbès. Discussing whether or not Petits Frères would come to join him, he declared himself indifferent, only wanting God's will to be done, yet revealingly continued:

If I could, but I cannot, do otherwise than lose myself totally in union with the divine Will, I would prefer for myself total failure, perpetual solitude, and defeats in everything: elegi abjectus esse. There is there a union with the abjection and the cross of our divine Beloved which has always seemed desirable to me ...¹⁵

Likewise, the text 'Unless a grain of wheat fall into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit (Jn 12.24) was often in De Foucauld's mind,¹⁶ with the final, positive part, left to God's care.

Letters of the period 1902-1907 speak of De Foucauld enjoying the happiness of God, looking above both his immediate problems and his own spiritual condition.¹⁷ It seems that the letters to Massignon from 1906 onwards also indicate that such mystical graces continued,¹⁸ certainly a letter of 1912¹⁹ counsels that daily self-examination and confession should be supplemented by contemplation and enjoyment of the happiness of the beloved, as if this was perfectly normal in De Foucauld's own life. Be that as it may, it fits in with the letters of 1907 and 1914 already quoted,²⁰ which express his willingness to work live or die as if temporary or permanent enjoyment of the nearer presence of God through the eucharist or through death would not be such a qualitatively different experience as De Foucauld had once understood it to be.

There would thus seem to be no essential contradiction between De Foucauld's theology, spiritual experience, and personality development that would lead one to suppose that he had a fragmented or distorted identity unworthy of more than cursory investigation. For whilst it may be judged that there are certain factors peculiar to De Foucauld's temperament and environment that should be taken into account when assessing his abiding significance, these do not in themselves invalidate his contribution to the idea of imitation Christi.

THE WAY AHEAD

What then of De Foucauld as a guide? After considering the long

and tortuous development of his thought one might feel like the apocryphal countryman, who, when asked for directions to a certain place, is said to have replied: 'If I wanted to go there, I wouldn't be starting from here'. One might also recall the adage about pygmies being able to stand on the shoulders of giants, and both illustrations have a point.

Thus, to take a few examples from those closest to De Foucauld's own spirituality: a Chevrier²¹ who lived before him and knew the other-side-of-the-railway-tracks suburbs of Lyon, could cast aside his middle class status as a priest and go to live with the poor without passing through a romantic view of their condition, whilst a Quoist²² who lived after De Foucauld, and went to seminary in 1938 after service in the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne, had an immediate understanding of the 'Nazareth' life as involvement with one's neighbours. Likewise, a Peyriguère²³ could begin with De Foucauld's final 1911 formulation of his idea of 'Nazareth', develop his own thinking in an atmosphere of much simpler and more biblical theology, and, in the context of the end rather than the beginning of colonial domination, become more clearly identified with the oppressed and ready to challenge the status quo. In the same way, conscription into the army did much to broaden the outlook of the first Petits Frères,²⁴ even if they might be thought to echo the conservative, obedience orientated side of De Foucauld more, and would never go as far as a Camilo Torres.²⁵ Yet in regard to this latter point it must also be recognised that the climate of thought in the Catholic church about obedience, which De Foucauld had so much trouble trying to fit in with, has changed.²⁶ So the points of tension and occasions for personal growth or diminishment would be different for a

present-day imitator.

'I wouldn't be starting from here' is thus fair comment on these and other aspects of De Foucauld's life, such as his unique role in the history of French colonial expansion and consolidation. Likewise, as Six points out,²⁷ the difference between the 'mood' of the theology of De Foucauld and St. Francis of Assisi may well be related to the fact that the latter enjoyed a happy and stable home background: a suggestion that would seem to be supported by the study of 'enclosure' in Chapter Five which demonstrated how much the orphaned De Foucauld was concerned to attain a stable framework in space and time in later life.

The above reflections make it clear that certain aspects of De Foucauld's approach to the imitatio Christi were conditioned by particular factors with identifiable effects, which should and may be allowed for in assessing its permanent significance. The elements which appear to survive this test will be summarised shortly, but mention must first be made of one aspect of thought about the imitatio Christi that was hardly touched on in De Foucauld's life. For discussion about the nature of an individual's vocation does not deal with the question of how it is tested or seen in relation to that of other people.

In De Foucauld's case one would want to suggest that there was room for alternative accounts of how both these matters were approached, especially in the light of the kind of question raised by Dodd and Moule²⁸ which was noted at the beginning of this study. The answer to this problem about mutually adequate Christologies and anthropologies would seem to have something to do with giving more serious attention to the Pauline concept of complementary gifts and ministries of the church seen as the body of Christ. Such consideration might be attempted with two

other thoughts in mind: one being the view²⁹ that an individual can only be a partial reflection on the whole Christ, the other being the more recent perception that the will of God should be sought and worked out through conciliar rather than hierarchical structures.³⁰

That is to say, whilst a certain grasp of the idea of complementary gifts and ministries lay behind De Foucauld's concept of vocation (as it does with other users³¹ of the term in relation to the imitatio Christi); and his working out of it is an illustration of the formation of an adequate anthropology in terms of an individual coming to a creative relationship with tradition,³² he remained within an unquestioned hierarchical framework. This is more an observation than a criticism, for as an individualist in a society which was hierarchical at all levels: social, military, and ecclesiastical, De Foucauld never really had other possibilities presented to him, although that is not to say that one cannot look back now and comment on the limitations of his individualistic stance, especially in regard to the question of the personal holiness of his fellow monks. Yet even that incident³³ is not without validity as a reminder that even a corporate concept of the imitatio Christi must, as St. Paul affirmed and Kierkegaard³⁴ reminded the church, take account of the fact that the health of the body depends on the health of its individual members.

One might speculate that if De Foucauld had been granted his dearest wish and formed a community around him, he might have eventually come to the point of asking such questions as 'How do we know the will of God?', and, 'How do we imitate Christ together?', although what is known about his belief in absolute obedience to a Superior once he had been elected,³⁵ makes a non-hierarchical approach to these problems a

remote possibility. Be that as it may, such speculations go beyond the reason for raising this matter, which is simply to illustrate the fact that the life and thought of no single individual can encompass all the issues that consideration of the imitatio Christi raises.

What then of De Foucauld as a guide to the subject? Qualified affirmatives to the questions with which this study opened,³⁶ and the caveats discussed in the last few paragraphs notwithstanding, he would seem to have made the following positive contribution to thinking about the imitatio Christi. In the first place, it may be suggested that the most fruitful generalisations from his experience would follow from seeing its most enlightening psychological parallel in what Helfaer described as the 'precocious identity'.³⁷

This, it will be remembered, is one which is formed relatively early in life within a homogenous subculture, and may consequently be unable to cope with alternatives or contradictions at a later stage. It also tends, in Helfaer's opinion, to be accompanied by theological 'absoluteness' and 'externalisation' which makes absolute dichotomies between this world and the next, between the power and goodness of God and Jesus and the finitude and evil of man, while religious relevance is located outside rather than within man. Yet the latter may make the identity open-ended if it includes the seeking of God's will. For, on one hand, 'This attitude of openness to God leaves the individual open to his own preconscious self and internally originating cues of action and decision', whilst, on the other:

The individual is thereby partly relieved of anxieties attendant upon the sense of the self as an active agent responsible for its own fate in that trust in God and His purpose helps release anxiety about success and failure and the future in general.³⁸

All these factors have been traced in the life of De Foucauld: from the 'precocious identity' of opting to become a monk and an imitator of the hidden life of Jesus, through very clearly defined concepts of permissible behaviour, to an openness to God and an acceptance of his own identity as Charles de Foucauld. Besides this, the mechanism of change was, as Helfaer suggested, that of the seeking to know and do God's will, which is also a fundamental feature of both Protestant and Catholic understandings of the imitatio Christi. There are, however, three other aspects of De Foucauld's approach which have been touched on from time to time, but whose permanent significance, transcending in application and importance the insights contributed by Helfaer, need to be brought out more clearly.

The first, which has been underlined in a negative way through criticisms of fragmentary existential approaches to the imitatio Christi,³⁹ and reinforced in a positive way by the structure of the discussion of De Foucauld's spiritual pilgrimage, is that it was just that: a long journey by one person, whose experience at one point contributed to his experience and the expression of it at another. For this reason nothing can be taken in isolation, whether in judgment or application, particularly in the latter, where the attractive proposition of being in the position of the pygmy able to stand on the giant's shoulders has to be qualified.

Such a unitary view of the person may seem unremarkable from a psychological point of view, but it does not seem to have been integrated

into theological thinking. If it had, a lot of discussion as to whether one finds, for example, the 'authentic' Bonhoeffer in his early or later writings might have been avoided. Likewise, people would have perhaps been more cautious about attempting to use his provocative last writings as foundation stones for new departures.⁴⁰ For to begin where someone leaves off is not the same thing as accompanying them in a process of character and conceptual development and then go further than they did.

This leads in to the second point to be noted about De Foucauld, for there is a close connection between what one is and what one becomes in thought and action, and what one perceives. The general importance of perception of the self and of others has been discussed in a number of contexts,⁴¹ but of particular significance is the connection between perception and love. The difference between 'B-' and 'D-cognition' of another person will be remembered, as will its connection with 'peak' or mystical experiences (loosely defined).⁴² The place of love in moral perception will also be recalled, along with the need for impartiality which requires love for God as well as love for one's neighbour.⁴³ The freedoms implied in these concepts of perception ('freedom from' and 'freedom for') may also be thought of in terms of an ethic of virtue dominated and ordered by love, either from a strictly ethical standpoint⁴⁴ or from the New Testament presentation of the imitatio Christi.⁴⁵

These aspects of perception have all been discussed independently and their significance argued without reference to each other, so it is surely of more than incidental note that De Foucauld's approach to the

imitatio Christi incorporated them all. For the changes in perception clearly involved in this⁴⁶ are inextricably bound up with De Foucauld's life of prayer, meditation and eucharistic devotion, and it is precisely these practices which have the mystical, affective, and intellectual elements involved in perceptual change.⁴⁷ So although a theologian would want to say more than this about their significance and suggest that the link between the imitatio Christi and union with Christ in prayer and the eucharist in Christian thought pointed towards some kind of ontological change⁴⁸ accompanying the perceptual shift, he would not want to say less than the psychologist.

This being so, it would seem that any interpretation of the imitatio Christi which claimed to include the sharing of Jesus' perceptions of God, man, and the world, - and it is difficult to envisage a viable one that would not⁴⁹ - must have a fundamental place for prayer, meditation and devotional practices.

For, as far as prayer and meditation are concerned, it is not merely a matter of recognising that certain activities were important to Jesus, and should therefore be given a position reflecting this in any projected imitatio Christi. That is a fair point, but their significance lies deeper than this, in their key role in the formation and change of a person's total perceptions. Even more fundamentally, for perceptual change in itself is no guarantee of action, prayer and meditation are cardinal avenues of that nourishment of the believer's union with Christ which gives him the moral strength to do what he sees to be right.

All this, and more, may be said of what takes place in the mystery of the eucharist.

The third general conclusion to be drawn from De Foucauld's understanding of the imitatio Christi is that it is not only based on love-orientated perception, but also on love-orientated

identification with Christ. For such an identification, in which the will of God in Christ is responded to out of love rather than fear, places this response in a context which encourages personal growth through the working out of principles which become relatively internalised rather than remain external constraints. In addition to this, failure and uncertainty, two inescapable aspects of a way of life which is open-ended and will only enjoy eschatological fulfilment, can be coped with positively. For whilst response to God's will may lead beyond the security of any secondary principles, it remains response to the will of a loving God whose relationship with man is not dependent on man's measuring up to that will.⁵⁰ So, in this relationship initiated and sustained by God, man is free to fail without losing his identity. For he is also free to accept forgiveness, free to accept or love himself, and so free to remain open to God.

Finally, it is the eschatological dimension⁵¹ of the imitatio Christi which forbids the making of more particular statements about an individual's vocation than those already made about guidelines on the journey. Yet this should not cause disquiet, for, as De Foucauld himself knew well, whether one seems to be at the beginning, middle, or near the end of the road, there is ultimately only but always one word. It is the word of invitation which purifies and directs, calls and enables. It is the word which can be grasped by the beginner, but cannot be exhausted by the maturest saint: 'Come and see... Come ... follow me! :

...Imitation is the daughter, sister, mother of love. Let us imitate Jesus because we love him; let us imitate Jesus to love him more! Let us imitate Jesus because he asks us and to obey is to love...The first word of Jesus to his apostles is "Come and see", that is to say, "Follow me and behold", that is to say, "imitate and contemplate". The last is "Follow me", that is to say, "Imitate me".⁵²

NOTES

CONCLUSION : THE WAY AHEAD :

THE WILL OF GOD AND THE LOVE OF CHRIST

THE HAPPINESS OF GOD

1. cf., p. 203 supra, and Appendix A.
2. cf., p. 260 supra.
3. The section (pp.35-8) (cf., pp.75f) in SPG with this title has been useful for this discussion.
4. F.F. 209 Ps 2:1-5 (OS, pp.75f).
5. LPE 11.4.1893 (LFT, p.90).
6. F.F. 209, Ps 20, cf., J. Dermine, La Vie spirituelle du Père de Foucauld (Paris: Lethielleux, 1935).
7. F.F. 209, Ps 21 quoted in Ibid., pp.122f.
8. F.F. 286 (OS, pp.324f) (SPA, p.49).
9. LPJ 30.9.1897 (LFT, p.122).
10. Ibid., (LFT, pp.122f).
11. F.F. 197 10.4.1898, 14.4.1898 (NES, pp.205-9).
12. IMBL 19.11.1898 (ES, p.184) cf., p. 303 (note 4) supra.
13. LPJ 9.9.1898, 2.1.1899 (LFT, pp.147, 153f).
14. LHC 8.7.1901 (p.87), cf., LPJ October? 1901 (LFT, p.210).
15. IMG 30.9.1902 (OS, p.683). On elegi abjectus esse cf., IMB 20.9.1888, quoted p.205 supra.
16. Although De Foucauld interpreted the text not so much as a matter of passive acceptance of suffering, as active embracing of it in penance. cf., F.F. 200 Med. 79 on faith (01-IV.1, 184). Verse quoted in Med. 153 on charity (01-IV.2,152), 'Jesus fiat voluntas tua' (01-IX.1, 246), Diaconate retreat F.F. 225.2 (01-X, 33), Articles 13 and 32 of the 1902 and 1904 retreats (01-X, 92, 100, 128, 139), and the 1905 retreat (01-X, 153, 158).

17. cf., IMB 5.11.1902 (p.107), IMBL Easter 1903 (ES, p.228), LHC 23.12.1903, 15.7.1904 (pp.144, 157), IMB 3.9.1905, 18.9.1907 (pp.144, 163f).
18. Massignon's judgment, quoted in D, p.138.
19. IM Easter 1912 (OS, p.774).
20. IMB 20.7.1914 (p.229), cf., pp.259, 406 supra.

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21. cf., op.cit., p. 169 (note 310).
22. cf., N. Cryer, Michel Quoist (London: Hodders, 1977), pp.30f. The Seminary Principal did not agree with his interpretation, and asked Quoist (b.1921) to cut down on his correspondence.
23. Albert Peyriguère (1883-1959) believed his mission was to proclaim De Foucauld's message, which he did by living it at El Kbab in Morocco from 1928 onwards; and through his writings. His unfinished reflections on the theological significance of De Foucauld's 'pre-missionary' work, and total identification with the people he was working with, were published posthumously: 'Testament spirituel du Père Peyriguère' Les mardis de Dar el Salam (1958-9) pp.155-218. Comments on De Foucauld also appear in Le Temps de Nazareth (Paris: Seuil, 1964), whilst the mood of Peyriguère's own spirituality may be found in the letters and writings collected in 'Laissez-vous saisir par le Christ', Par les chemins que Dieu choisit, Une vie qui crie l'Evangile (Paris: Centurion, 1962, 1965², 1967). Aussi loin que l'amour (Paris: Cerf, 1970). The editor, M. Lafon, has also written a biography Le Père Peyriguère (Paris: Seuil, 1963), whilst the similarities and differences between De Foucauld and Peyriguère have been discussed by G. Gorée and G. Chauvel in 'D'autres récolteront...' Foucauld - Peyriguère, Moines-Missionnaires (Paris: Mame, 1965).
24. cf., J.F. Six, 'Le grain de Sènéve devient un grand arbre', La Vie Spirituelle 533 (1966) 689-97.
25. Camilo Torres (1929-1966), cf., Revolutionary Priest, ed. Gerassi, J. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp.170, 271-3, 294f, 315, 334f.
26. cf., pp. 111f supra, and notes 256-7, p.167.
27. IFT, p.340.
28. p. 2 supra.

29. cf., p.109 supra.
30. Since Vatican II, cf., assessment by Merton (1965) quoted in Thomas Merton, Monk, ed. P. Hart (London: Hodders, 1975), p.174.
31. cf., pp. 121, 129, 137 supra.
32. cf., pp.52-59 supra.
33. cf., pp.286f. supra.
34. cf., p.123 supra.
35. cf., pp.242f. supra.
36. cf., p.151 supra.
37. cf., pp.25ff. supra.
38. cf., p.27 supra.
39. cf., pp.44, 54, 74, 131f, 149 supra.
40. cf., pp.134-143 supra.
41. cf., pp.9-39, 52-54 supra.
42. cf., pp.36f. supra.
43. cf., pp.46f. supra.
44. cf., p.46 supra.
45. cf., pp.74-79 supra.
46. A summary statement of De Foucauld's approach appears on p.272 supra.
47. It is not necessary to subscribe to the view (held by Maslow, for example; but most recently ably rebutted by S.T. Katz, 'Language, Epistemology, and Mysticism', in S.T. Katz (Ed.) Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis (London: Sheldon Press, 1978) pp.22-74, that mystical experiences are all basically the same, to recognise that there are certain similarities in the physiological and psychological effects of different forms of meditation in relation to perception, which make such meditation important.

Scientific studies may be consulted in C.T. Tart (Ed.) Transpersonal Psychologies (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), which is also useful for the paper by W. McNamara 'Psychology and the Christian Mystical Tradition' (pp.389-430). This is written with the approach of St. John of the Cross in mind, and may be noted for the following apposite comment:

'Perhaps it would be better to speak of 'heightened forms of loving awareness' rather than altered states of consciousness' (p.407).

48. cf., F.J. Streng, 'Language and Mystical Awareness' in Katz, op.cit., pp.141-69, pp.162-4.
49. cf., pp. 143f with p.147.
50. cf., pp.47f. supra.
51. cf., pp.85f, 91 supra.
52. cf., p. 266 supra, and p. 316 (note 216).

APPENDIX A: THE HIDDEN LIFE OF JESUS

De Foucauld's concept of the imitation of the hidden life of Jesus was a product of the French School of spirituality, so although there is no evidence of his direct literary dependence on any particular writer,¹ many of the themes of De Foucauld's thought are well expressed in a little study on the theme which was first published in 1673. The first half of Boudon's work² was devoted to a consideration of 'Jesus a hidden God', in his incarnation, life at Nazareth, ministry, and death.

This description applied to several aspects of Jesus' existence. In the first place, his virtues, powers, and status were largely concealed or misunderstood, whilst his mission was unsuccessful (in comparison with what the Apostles were to achieve later). Secondly, his life of poverty, abjection, ignominious suffering, and lack of friends was an offence to the world. The third aspect of Jesus' hidden life was his liking to get away from people in order to be silent and to pray. Finally, even Jesus' post-resurrection life is hidden in that it is only known concealed in the humble elements of the eucharist, or in its indwelling of the individual believer. Yet, despite such a consistent pattern, worldly Christians were ignoring and despising this model, so the second half of the book moved on to an exposition of the 'practice of the hidden life'.

The application of the doctrine may be understood from the following two passages, both of which are significant for the

distinctions they make between what is essential and what is conditional. Whilst the second has the additional function of placing the idea of the hidden life in the context of the tradition of earlier centuries.

The varied forms of the hidden life and its fundamental nature were described thus:

We may love the hidden life in many different ways. Some are called to it by withdrawal into a perfect external solitude, like the holy Fathers of the Desert; others are drawn to it by vocation to a religious life of great retirement, like the Carthusians, Benedictines, and certain private individuals. There are some who, through the grace of our Lord, are led to embrace it, although they live in the world, by discreetly avoiding all unnecessary visits and conversations, and remaining in solitude as much as they are able. There are others who live hidden, although their state of life obliges them to appear in public, by foregoing in a Christian spirit all intercourse with the great, and shunning the acquaintance of persons of distinction, never willingly coming forward, or seeking the esteem and friendship of any creature, keeping their graces secret, and preserving a profound silence on all things, without exception, which could attract to themselves the esteem of men. Finally, there are others whom Divine Providence conceals by their low extraction, their intellectual inferiority, their deficiency in natural talents, their poverty, the contempt in which they are held, the slights that are put upon them, the little success they meet with their employments, the loss of reputation, the desertion of all they hold most dear, and the calumnies raised against them. The duty of each in these several conditions is to abide with love and fidelity in that state in which the order of Divine Providence has placed him.

But most certain it is that the love of the hidden life is essential to us in whatever state we are, in so far as it leads us to content ourselves with God alone, and in no way to seek the esteem or friendship of creatures.⁵

This is a fair summary of the argument of Boudon's book, except that his tone here was more temperate than elsewhere. For a balanced picture one must consider such phrases as the following:

We ought to practise much self-humiliation, and endure with reluctance the esteem and friendship of creatures.... We ought to rejoice greatly in being unknown.... It is a

still higher grace to be slandered and defamed.... We ought to make a holy use of the interior sufferings (including deprivation of) all sensible consolations (and reception of the) heaviest crosses.... We ought to live as if there were but God only and ourselves in the world (and everything which happens there) ought to seem to us only as a shadow and a dream.⁴

The final chapter recommended 'a special devotion to the Holy family of our Lord, to the holy angels, and to all those saints who have been especially connected with the hidden life of our adorable Lord'.⁵ So, after dealing with devotion to Mary and Joseph it went on:

Let us be devout to the great St. John the Baptist, whose life was hidden in so extraordinary a manner, because God desired to exalt him to an extraordinary sanctity. Let us be devout to St. Mary Magdalene, who spent so many years in a solitary cave; to St. Paul the Hermit, St. Onuphrius, St. Alexis, St. John Calybite, and all the saints who led a solitary and retired life. But let us not forget the saints who, distinguished in the world by the exalted offices they held, led nevertheless a hidden life by the ignominies they endured, the slanders and calumnies with which they were defamed, the contempt and scorn with which they were treated, being known among men only to be accounted the offscouring of the world. Such were the glorious Apostles and disciples of our Lord. And through all ages you will see, following their steps, a long train of saints who were truly admirable in this kind of hidden life; for, as we have said above, these abasements keep those who suffer them more closely concealed amidst cities and crowds than are hermits in their solitude.⁶

However, this broad application of the concept of the hidden life of Jesus tended to become narrowed in the nineteenth century to a focus on one aspect: Jesus' submission to his parents (cf., Lk 2.51) as a model of the Christian's submission to authority and keeping to his place in society. One manifestation of this way of thinking was the many religious Orders re-founded in the first half of the century which placed themselves under the protection of the Holy Family, and interpreted the 'hidden life' as a mandate for the

only activities open to them in a secular state: the contemplative life, education of children, and relief of the poor.⁷ A second indicator might be seen in a book on St. Joseph which argued that the masses should not struggle for the transformation of society but follow the path of Christian resignation.⁸ Whilst a series of lectures on 'Nazareth' at the time of De Foucauld's conversion stressed obedience rather than love as the ethos of the Holy Family.⁹

NOTES

1. Knowledge of the French School generally must have come to De Foucauld through Huvelin (cf., extracts from the latter's notes, sermons and lectures, 1872-92 (IS, pp.86-90)). But after his own ideas about 'Nazareth' were formed, De Foucauld came across a book on the specific subject by Louis Bourdaloue (cf., F.F. 290 (unpublished), 1899), and read and enjoyed the works of the Abbé Caron from 1903. These included Jésus Adolescent (1896) and Un quart d'heure aux pieds de Jésus (1893). cf., LAC 20.12.1903, 27.9.1904, 13.11.1904 (pp.3, 6, 8).
2. Boudon, H.-M., The Hidden Life of Jesus (1673), ET (London: Burns, Oates, 1869).
3. Ibid., pp. 115f. cf., p.105.
4. Ibid., Chapter headings: VI, VII, VIII, X (pp. xixf.), and p.176.
5. Ibid., Chapter X, heading.
6. Ibid., p. 186.
7. cf., Noye, I 'Famille (Dévotion a la sainte famille)' DSP V, Cols. 84-93.
8. Pere At, Saint Joseph ou la question ouvrière selon L'Évangile (1876).
9. Constant, J., Nazareth ou les lois Chrétiennes de la famille, 1886-7 (Paris: Savaete, 1903). Eight lectures on obedience and power, five on love and the cross, two on discretion and honour. But a more positive approach was taken by Dechevrens, A., Nazareth et la famille de Dieu dans l'humanité, 2 vols. (Paris: Lethiellux, 1899). This was more broadly based both biblically and theologically, seeking to promote Christian families as the first-fruits of the coming kingdom of God. cf., op. cit., Note 7.

APPENDIX B: DE FOUCAULD AND ST. TERESA OF AVILA

1 - THE WORKS OF ST. TERESA

De Foucauld's quotations¹ will be considered first of all in the order in which he made them and in the context of each individual work, before being analysed as a whole.

THE LIFE OF SAINT TERESA

De Foucauld began his longer extracts (F.F.335) from Teresa's life with her entry to the convent of the Incarnation (chapter 4) and continued to the end of her autobiography, making selections from each chapter. He did not, however, find them all of equal interest, as can be seen by a rough and ready comparison of the length of the chapters with the length of the corresponding extracts. Though this is a crude measure, liable to inaccuracy in that some chapters may be more easily epitomised in extracts than others, a certain pattern can nevertheless be observed.

More than average interest was expressed in three subjects: Prayer, the founding of convents, and suffering.

On prayer, De Foucauld noted her teaching on the necessity for perseverance, (chapter 8); the way the Lord awakens the soul (9); the first degree of prayer (12 and 13), and to a lesser extent, aspects of the fourth (21). There were also long extracts on the recognition of locutions from God and of deceptions from the devil (25, 26, 31).

De Foucauld made extensive extracts from the chapters dealing with the foundation of the convent of St. Joseph, the first convent of the reform. The difficulties involved, and the suffering endured by Teresa and her nuns both before and after the foundation was made, were noted (33, 36), as was the principle of holy poverty that was to be observed in it (35). The latter was very important to De Foucauld, as can be seen from the collection² he made on the subject, maxims drawn from the Old Testament (128), New Testament (91), St. Teresa (40), and St. John of the Cross (22), and offered to the prioress at Nazareth in September 1899.

Suffering is also the subject of chapter 30, but one suspects that the long quotations were as much the result of De Foucauld's interest in her comforter, Peter of Alcantara, as in the sufferings themselves. The same is likely with chapter 27, which although chiefly about Teresa's visions, ends with a description of the extremely ascetic practices that the holy man maintained for 47 years.

Less than average interest was shown in non-religious or peripheral experience, and in some aspects of mystical experience.

Teresa's history before entering the religious life was of no interest to De Foucauld (no quotations from chapters 1-3), and he took markedly less note of particular experiences that might be thought to be incidental to her life (chapters 5 and 34).

De Foucauld was also selective on the subject of prayer and spiritual experience. The second and third stages of prayer were quickly passed over, as were the middle two of the four chapters in which Teresa described the spiritual favours granted her (37-40). These may well be simple cases of brief summaries of repetitive expositions, but some further explanation would seem to be required for his short extracts from the chapters where she explains imaginary visions of the Humanity of Christ (28-29).

When De Foucauld re-read all these extracts he did not underline many of them, just three from the early chapters and six from the later ones. In contrast to this, most of the second set of extracts (F.F.336) were underlined and came from all parts of Teresa's autobiography. The similarities and differences in subject matter will not be dealt with at this point, but left for a combined analysis of the extracts made from all Teresa's works in the two series. The same holds for the other writings which De Foucauld made selections from; only a general sketch of his approach will be given.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIFE OF SAINT TERESA

These additions, which form a continuous text in the French translation and part of a series of separate and differently arranged 'Spiritual Relations' in the English text, have different weight in the two sets of extracts. The four underlined quotations from the longer set were supplemented by nine further ones in the shorter compilation.

GLOSE

Although this poem only occurs in the longer extracts and was not underlined when they were re-read, it is noteworthy as a distillation of a feeling which De Foucauld had almost all his post-conversion life and which he constantly expressed in his desire for martyrdom.³

BOOK OF THE FOUNDATIONS

The extracts from the Foundations were taken on a much more selective basis than those from the Life. There is no regular relationship between length of chapter and length of quotation. The overall proportion of quotation to text is considerably lower.⁴

Some chapters⁵ merited only a few lines quotation, while there are several⁶ from which none were made at all. But the Life, Additions and Foundations do have one thing in common; few of the extracts in the first set were underlined, while a majority of those in the second set were carefully marked.

EXCLAMATIONS OF THE SOUL TO GOD

'Little need be said of these white-hot embers from the fire of the Saint's love, which ... can still enkindle the hearts of those who read them. ... The theme of them all is the same - a glowing love for Jesus and a vehement desire for the closest possible union with Him that the soul can achieve.'⁷

Similarly, little need or indeed can be said of De Foucauld's use of them. Selections from these prayers only occur in the second set of extracts and none were underlined.

MAXIMS FOR HER NUNS

All of these maxims were copied out in both sets of extracts, so there can be no doubt that De Foucauld thought them significant. Yet it must be said that none of the second set were marked, while his pencil paused at only seven in the first set.⁸ On the other hand a reading of the maxims convinces one that, whether or not they were underlined, some further 22⁹ were of particular interest to him, although only three¹⁰ of them can be indubitably identified in his published writings.

'LET NOTHING DISTURB THEE'

These lines from Teresa's breviary were copied out (but not underlined) in the longer set of extracts only, but appear at the beginning of De Foucauld's diaries for 1905 and 1913.¹¹

WAY OF PERFECTION

The longer set of quotations¹² included extracts from almost every chapter, but a rough comparison of the lengths of quotations and chapters reveals (as with Teresa's Life) certain preferences in subject-matter.

The introductory chapters (1-3) on the basis and aim of the foundation of St. Joseph's - poverty, strict observance of the rule, prayer for the church - were stressed, as were those near the end of the book which describe the Christian life as walking in the love and fear of God (40-41). The only other chapters to receive more than usual attention were those on recollection and prayer of recollection (26 and 28); and, to a lesser extent, those on the way to contemplation (17) and the prayer of quiet (31).

Most other parts of the work received average coverage, except for sections on the earlier stages of prayer (19-25) and much of the exposition of the Lord's Prayer (27, 30, 32, 33, 37); presumably as this material was well-known to De Foucauld.

The few passages underlined in the re-readings followed the pattern just traced, with the addition of extracts about not worrying that penances might kill one (10 and 11), trusting for God's daily provision of necessities (34), and considering the nature of Jesus' sufferings (42).

SONG OF SONGS or CONCEPTIONS OF THE LOVE OF GOD

As might be expected, De Foucauld made extensive quotations from these meditations based on verses from that favourite book of the mystics: the Song of Songs. But the underlinings that he made when re-reading them concern only one thing: charity. Characteristically, he underlined (and marked 9 times in the margin) an exhortation in the third chapter not to fail to reach perfection in charity through foolish worldly prudence, even though that might save his life. Similarly, he considered Teresa's teaching on the subject in the final chapter, which also discusses the relation of contemplation and action.

INTERIOR CASTLE

De Foucauld worked steadily through each section and appears to have regarded none of special significance when reading them for the first time. This suggests that he had no preconceptions but wished to consider all that Teresa had to say on the subject. In contrast, most of the passages underlined later come from two parts of the book and concern two matters: Teaching in the fifth and seventh Mansions on union with God and conformity with the life and suffering of Jesus.

ANALYSIS OF THE EXTRACTS

A general picture of De Foucauld's overall interest in Teresa's writings can be gained by indexing all the quotations that were underlined in both sets of extracts, the complete one (F.F. 335) and the unfinished one (F.F. 336). As with any index, there is some overlap resulting from the indexing of some quotations under more than one heading, but this is not significant enough to distort the clear pattern which emerges. This shows that while he found a large number of subjects of some significance to his situation, De Foucauld focussed his attention on a few key matters.

The first thing that will be obvious from Table One is that while reference was made to 45 subjects, half of these account for seven-eighths of all the extracts, and the first seven in the list made up half of the quotations from subjects referred to more than three times.

But this is not to say that De Foucauld was asking the same questions of himself and Teresa throughout both re-readings. There are differences within the longer set and between the two sets. Comparison of the shorter set of underlined extracts with the same part of the longer set shows certain differences very clearly. On the other hand, comparison of the whole of both sets shows that in his overall, long-term view, De Foucauld did not shift his interests to such an extent.

Thus it will be seen (column C), that almost half the topics ended up with the same, or nearly the same number of quotations from both readings, despite the fact that at the time De Foucauld reached the half-way point in his re-reading of the longer set (which corresponds to the end of the shorter set) it will be observed (column D) that all but one of these topics had received little or no notice. This suggests that during the time taken to finish re-reading the longer extracts and to underline pertinent passages, De Foucauld read with more attention and also increased the range of subjects he was concerned with. When he came to the end one might have expected him to go back to the beginning to underline the passages that he had missed, but instead of doing this he started to copy out all the extracts again and then proceeded to mark those which now fell within his enlarged and more sensitive frame of reference. So it is not

surprising to find that there are now four times as many underlinings in Teresa's Life and Additions, and twice as many in the Foundations.

But it is also true that there are several subjects in which De Foucauld's interest was not maintained during the continuation of the first re-reading, as he made no further underlinings in the latter part of it on these matters. Nevertheless, by the time he came to the second re-reading he either regained his interest (MAKING AND ADMINISTERING FOUNDATIONS, HEALTH), or markedly increased it (OBEDIENCE, POVERTY, IMITATION OF THE SAINTS). Too much should not be made of this, however, as some allowance has to be made for the omission of teaching which repeats what has already been noted, or for changes in subject matter in the material. Yet this does not explain why a topic such as OBEDIENCE, which is treated in the second half of Teresa's works, was not noted there, but was marked six times on a re-reading of the first half, having been underlined only twice initially.

One can only speculate on the reason for this (Did it occur during a spiritual crisis?), it is equally unclear why, for example, DOING THE WILL OF GOD merited five underlinings in the first half of the longer extracts, 11 in the second, and then 13 on a re-reading of the first portion. But at least that can be seen as a progression (5+11:13) and the expression of a similar concern overall (16:13), whatever variations were experienced during the weeks or months that it took De Foucauld to complete the underlinings.

More substantial perhaps than changes in emphasis during the course of one re-reading are the persistently maintained differences of interest which were held throughout both readings. The ratios

given (column C) show that these account for half the 23 major topics and fall into the following groups.

Subjects in which interest shown in the first re-reading was increased 100% or more in the second (IMITATING AND FOLLOWING CHRIST, OBEDIENCE, POVERTY, IMITATION OF THE SAINTS).

Subjects in which interest was significantly increased, but less than the above (TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS, HUMILITY, MAKING AND ADMINISTERING FOUNDATIONS).

For the sake of completeness it should also be noted that four subjects appear to decrease markedly in importance, but the figures given in column C must be read in the light of column D, which shows that the case is one of difference in subject matter available for quotations in the first half of Teresa's works. De Foucauld developed a concern for LOVE, UNION WITH GOD, CHARITY, and CONFORMITY while reading the second half of his longer extracts, but did not find as many relevant quotations to underline when he came to re-read the first half.

The way in which De Foucauld maintained or changed his interest in different topics can be seen more easily if they are placed in rank order at different stages, as in Table Two.

The first column shows the position half-way through the first re-reading. The second gives the order of importance that resulted from completing the underlinings in the longer set of extracts. The third column indicates the contribution from the second re-reading, and is also directly comparable with the first column as they both terminate at the end of chapter 13 of the Way of Perfection. The fourth column, (which is identical to column A of the previous table)

gives the final ranking of all subjects referred to more than three times.

Much could be said about the pattern revealed in the table, but it is sufficient for the matter in hand to note one thing. Although the topic IMITATION OF CHRIST only became important in the second re-reading, the closely related subjects of DOING THE WILL OF GOD and TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS have an unvarying priority over all others. This is not just a reflection of the shape of the material that De Foucauld had to make extracts from, for analysis of his selections from the very different and much more mundane matter which goes to make up Teresa's Letters shows a similar, although not identical, hierarchy of interests.

2 - THE LETTERS OF ST. TERESA

The 89 letters quoted by De Foucauld in F.F. 339 are listed in Table Three. It will be seen that passages in 21 of these were underlined or marginally marked, producing 23 separate quotations (cf., pp.237-46 supra) which overlapping indexing brings to 36. 31 of these appear in the list of principal subjects (covering 75% of the extracts) in Table Four. Of the five remaining, two are also indexed under main headings (patience (L139), cf., poverty, action and withdrawal (L189), cf., prayer). Thus leaving only three (work's reward (L16), spiritual needs (L22), and friendship (L239)) which do not fit the pattern of De Foucauld's original selection.

In comparing Tables Two and Four it will be noted that when making extracts from the Letters, De Foucauld maintained his concern for TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS as part of IMITATING AND FOLLOWING CHRIST (five of the six references to the latter are also related to the former), and for the importance of DOING THE WILL OF GOD, although this is not top of the list as before.

When Table Four is considered on its own, and a comparison is made between the frequency of reference and percentage importance of quoted passages (columns a and b), and of marginally marked or underlined extracts (columns c and d), two things will be noted. At the time De Foucauld came to underline quotations his general focus remained constant, but there were marked changes in emphasis among other topics as if certain issues were no longer a prime concern and had been replaced by others.

Thus: MAKING AND ADMINISTERING FOUNDATIONS and TRIALS AND

SUFFERINGS kept their place at the head of the table, increasing their overall significance from 23% to 33% (5 references each).

PRAYER remained at third place with almost 10% of the references and was joined there by an increase in concern, or perhaps a disproportionate maintenance of concern for DOING THE WILL OF GOD (which rose from seventh place) and for LETTER-WRITING (which rose from fourteenth position) (3 references each).

OBEDIENCE, once of equal significance to prayer, was now of minor concern, along with HEALTH, HUMILITY, MORTIFICATION, OPPOSITION OF THE DEVIL, and THE CROSS (1 reference each). These all stood below POVERTY, SPIRITUAL DIRECTION and IMITATING AND FOLLOWING CHRIST: which all increased their proportional representation (2 references each). Whilst KEEPING THE RULE and MONEY MATTERS dropped completely out of sight at this stage.

APPENDIX TO THE LETTERS

'Instruction sur la maniere de gouverner les religieuses par la venerable mere Marie de Saint-Joseph premiere prieure du monastere des carmelites dechaussees de Seville, et fondatrice du monastere de Lisbonne.' (Bouix, Lettres de Sainte Terese volume 2, appendix pp. 431-468).

As De Foucauld summarised (F.F. 342.2) this document almost word for word, it is worth giving a brief precis:

The art or skill of discreet government, by knowing when to be gentle or stern; punishing or forgiving; patient or impatient, etc. as necessary; and the need to recognise the vocation of each soul to its own degree of perfection, is expounded by analogy with the way Christ treated Mary Magdalene.

Superiors have obligations to their inferiors to forgive their sins (pardon, correction, discipline); to defend them from their enemies (the devil working within or without), and to provide for their needs.

The exposition touches on many matters and concludes with the problem of the devil causing division in a community through setting incompetent confessors and their charges at odds with the superior, who can see what they are doing wrong but has no power to check their influence. The only remedy appears to be that given by the Rule: In silence and hope, which is our strength: for there is nothing more important than maintaining peace and mutual love in a community and the key to everything is prayer.

If prayer and the spirit of charity are absent, everything is lost and the nuns are no longer daughters of their mother Teresa, for they lack the marks by which one recognises them as her true imitators. Marks which are the source of their other distinguishing virtues: true in speech, sincere in conversation, strangers to hypocrisy, fabrications, singularity; unconstrained by their relations or the things of this world; courteous and courageous; in short, submissive and amenable in all their works.

TABLE ONE :

UNDERLINED QUOTATIONS FROM THE WORKS OF SAINT TERESATABLE OF SUBJECTS AND FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE

	(a*)	(b*) %	(c*)	(d*)
Doing the will of God	(29)	10.9	16:13	5:13
Trials and sufferings	(23)	8.6	9:14	4:14
Imitating and following Christ	(15)	5.8	5:10	2:10
Perfection	(13)	4.9	6:7	1:7
Prayer	(13)	4.9	7:6	3:6
Humility	(12)	4.5	5:7	3:7
Love	(12)	4.5	7:5	3:5
Making and administering Foundations	(11)	4.2	4:7	4:7
Health	(11)	4.2	5:6	5:6
Spiritual Direction	(9)	3.4	5:4	3:4
Opposition of the devil	(8)	3.0	4:4	2:4
Trust in God	(8)	3.0	4:4	1:4
Obedience	(8)	3.0	2:6	2:6
Union with God	(8)	3.0	7:1	-:1
Charity	(7)	2.6	6:1	2:1
Detachment	(7)	2.6	3:4	1:4
Mortification	(7)	2.6	4:3	2:3
Poverty	(7)	2.6	1:6	1:6
Conformity	(6)	2.3	4:2	-:2
Grace	(5)	1.9	2:3	-:3
Keeping the Rule	(5)	1.9	3:2	1:2
The Cross	(4)	1.5	2:2	-:2
Imitation of the saints	(4)	1.5	1:3	1:3

The table gives 232 references (87.5% of the total) to 23 subjects.

There are a further 33 references to 22 subjects.

Solitude, Works	(3 references each)
Communion, Knowledge, the Passion, Purification, Silence, Sin, World	(2)
Action, Apostolate, Death, Joseph, Martyrdom, Meditation, Models, Money, Scripture, Self-forget- fulness, Tabernacle, Writing, the Virgin.	(1)

- *Key
- (a) number of underlined quotations in both sets of extracts combined.
 - (b) percentage of total underlined quotations.
 - (c) proportion of extracts from whole of longer set (F.F. 335): extracts from shorter set (F.F. 336).
 - (d) proportion of extracts from parts of longer set used in both sets: extracts from shorter set.

(7)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
charity detachment mortification poverty	grace mortification imitation of the saints	grace mortification imitation of the saints	conformity the cross the rule (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(6)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
conformity	conformity the cross the rule (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(5)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace the rule	conformity the cross the rule (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(4)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
the cross imitation of the saints	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(3)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
detachment the rule the cross grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
the cross grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
grace obedience (* * * *)	grace obedience (* * * *)	poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	(* *)	(* * * *)	(* * * *)
(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(1)
poverty imitation of the saints (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* * * *)	charity union with God (* *				

(* indicates a subject which was not referred to more than three times overall, the precise topic being unimportant for the purpose of this table).

TABLE THREE :LETTERS OF ST. TERESA QUOTED BY DE FOUCAULD

The 89 letters quoted in F.F.339 are listed below with the number used by M. Bouix (Lettres de Sainte Terese, 3 volumes; Paris:Lecoffre 18822) followed where possible by that adopted by E.A. Peers (The Letters of Saint Teresa of Jesus, 2 volumes; London:Burns Oates and Washbourne 1951). The exceptions are indicated in the notes.

1. 1 / (a)	31. 125 / 163	61. 227 / 300
2. 2 / (b)	32. 129 / 169	62. 237 / 311*
3. 3 / (c)	33. 135 / 175	63. 239 / 318*
4. 16 / 21*	34. 136 / 178*	64. 243 / 307
5. 19 / (d)	35. 137 / 179	65. 244 / 320
6. 22 / 27*	36. 139 / 183*	66. 247 / 325
7. 33 / 42	37. 142 / 177	67. 256 / 337
8. 34 / 47	38. 143 / 187	68. 261 / 342
9. 35 / (e)	39. 146 / 188	69. 263 / 345
10. 43 / 65	40. 150 / 193	70. 265 / 49
11. 47 / 64	41. 151 / 195	71. 266 / 349
12. 52 / 70	42. 154 / 198	72. 277 / 364*
13. 54 / 73	43. 156 / 200	73. 281 / 368
14. 63 / 95	44. 162 / 137*	74. 282 / 367*
15. 74 / 104	45. 169 / 224	75. 283 / 369
16. 77 / 106	46. 171 / 226	76. 290 / 375
17. 78 / (f)	47. 174 / 230	77. 293 / 383
18. 79 / (g)	48. 180 / 239	78. 294 / (i)*
19. 85 / 114	49. 188 / 248	79. 295 / (j)
20. 87 / 116	50. 189 / 250*	80. 298 / 381
21. 89 / 104	51. 190 / 249*	81. 303 / 392
22. 92 / 122	52. 193 / 255*	82. 308 / 399
23. 93 / 123*	53. 200bis / 265	83. 310 / 400
24. 96 / 126	54. 201 / 262	84. 312 / 403
25. 98 / 128	55. 206 / 279	85. 323 / 418*
26. 105 / 136*	56. 209 / 280	86. 325 / 421*
27. 113 / 146	57. 210 / 281	87. 331 / 427*
28. 115 / 148*	58. 212 / (h)*	88. 334 / 426
29. 116 / 152	59. 223 / 296	89. 351 / 453*
30. 124 / 162	60. 224 / 297	

* indicates Quotation subsequently underlined or marked in the margin in pencil.

NOTES

- (a) Spiritual Relation 1 to be found in E.A. Peers,
The Complete Works of Saint Teresa
of Jesus (3 volumes, London:
Sheed and Ward 1946) I 306-313.
- (b) Spiritual Relation 2 ibid., 1 314-315.
- (c) Spiritual Relation 3 ibid., 1 316-318.
- (d) Thoughts and Maxims... ibid., 3 269-270.
- (e) Answer...to a spiritual challenge ibid., 3 261-265.
- (f) Spiritual Relation 5 ibid., 1 327-333.
- (g) Spiritual Relation 4 ibid., 1 319-326.
- (h) to Juan de Jesus Roca, 25.3.1579. Not given in Peers,
presumably apocryphal compilation ment-
ioned in volume 1 of the letters, p.20.
- (i) Spiritual Relation 6 ibid., 1 334-337.
- (j) to Don Alphonse Velasquiz, May 1581. Not given in Peers,
identified by Bouix as coming from the
Madrid edition 1,1.VIII Acta, p.211
nos. 920 and 921.

TABLE FOUR :

QUOTATIONS FROM THE LETTERS OF SAINT TERESATABLE OF SUBJECTS AND FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE

	(a) quotat- ions	(b) %	(c) %	(d) markings and underlinings
Making and administering foundations	(22)	12.4*	16.6	(5)
Trials and sufferings	(20)	11.2	16.6	(5)
Prayer	(17)	9.6	10.0	(3)
Obedience	(17)	9.6	3.3	(1)
Health	(14)	7.9	3.3	(1)
Keeping the Rule	(12)	6.7	-	-
Doing the will of God	(10)	5.6	10.0	(3)
Humility	(10)	5.6	3.3	(1)
Money matters	(9)	5.1	-	-
Mortification	(9)	5.1	3.3	(1)
Poverty	(8)	4.5	6.6	(2)
Opposition of the devil	(7)	3.9	3.3	(1)
Spiritual direction	(7)	3.9	6.6	(2)
Letter writing	(6)	3.4	10.0	(3)
Imitating and following Christ	(6)	3.4	6.6	(2)
The Cross	(4)	2.2	3.3	(1)
	(178)	100%*	100%	(31)

The table gives 178 references (75% of the total) to 16 subjects.

There are a further 58 references to 35 other subjects.

viz: charity, dryness, self-forgetfulness, solitude, world (3 references each)

action, death, thanks for gifts, manual work, meditation,
the Passion, perfection, reading, reform, sin, union, visions (2)

imitation of God, John of the Cross, peace, perception,
rest, simplicity, spiritual needs, temptations,
intellectual vision of the Trinity, apostolate,
friendship, grace, imitation of the saints, knowledge
martyrdom, silence, works.

* Percentages are shown for comparison between the subjects mentioned four or more times, and refer to the main 75% of references. If comparison is sought with all 236 references, the values will be reduced, viz.

Making and administering foundations (9.3)
Trials and sufferings (8.5)
Prayer (7.2) etc.

NOTES

1. cf., pp. 235-7 supra.
2. IS, p.204 note 60 (Not part of the Fonds Foucauld).
3. cf., p.258 supra.
4. 20% as opposed to 33%.
5. Chaps. 9, 11, 21.
6. Chaps. 7, 16, 20, 25, 26.
7. Comment by Peers (PW, 2.400).
8. Nos. 16, 28, 29, 62-65. (=63-66; ET splits 40 into 40 and 41, then renumbers).
9. Nos. 5, 12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 31, 34, 36, 38, 47, 49, 50, 51, 55, 59, 60, 61, 67, 68.
10. Nos. 26, 49, 50; cf., Chap. 4, note 73.
11. cf., p. 234 supra.
12. The shorter set finished at Chap. 13.

APPENDIX C :DE FOUCAULD AND ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

A detailed analysis of De Foucauld's extraction and subsequent underlining of quotations from the works of St. John of the Cross would show theological interests and shifts of concern and breadth similar to those noted with regard to St. Teresa of Avila.¹ This being so, and since the special contribution of St. John of the Cross to De Foucauld's thinking has already been discussed,² the following notes are limited to an account of the way De Foucauld came to know his writings.

Although Huvelin had sent De Foucauld a picture of John of the Cross around the time of the priest's memorable 1889 sermon on Teresa,³ and also recommended the saint's writings for De Foucauld's consideration some eight years later,⁴ it was not until about March 1898, that the monk began to read them.⁵ From his letter it would seem that De Foucauld was not especially attracted to the Carmelite and would have been happy to read some other writer like Francois de Sales or John Chrysostom. However, once begun, the study proved interesting. Huvelin encouraged him to continue so he read the Spaniard's works from cover to cover during the next six months,⁶ making extracts as he went. Isolated quotations also appear in the meditations of this period, although on nothing like the scale of those taken from Teresa.

Yet De Foucauld seems to have warmed to her compatriot, as January 1899 found him promising to make a set of extracts for his friend Father Jérôme,⁷ while the prioress of the Clares at Nazareth received a collection of maxims on holy poverty (drawn from the Bible and the two saints) in September.⁸ A few references occur in the 1899 Rule, including the requirement that John of the Cross 'works be read regul-

arly and that priests should possess copies for this purpose'.⁹ De Foucauld observed his own rule in this matter,¹⁰ but although he immersed himself in the saint's writings, explicit quotations are few and far between.

There are four collections of extracts from the Lecoffre four-volume edition of the life and works of Saint John of the Cross.¹¹ Two of these follow the pattern De Foucauld adopted with Teresa's writings, with systematic extracts from a complete reading running to 479 pages of tiny script in one case, (F.F. 333), and 170 pages finishing at Night 2.19 in the other (F.F. 334). In addition, there are some 56 brief extracts in the detached notes from various authors, (F.F. 286) and a complete work of 131 numbered quotations (F.F. 338), which could well be the origin of the selection De Foucauld prepared for Father Jérôme.

As with extracts from Teresa of Avila, the dating of these selections must be approximate, but indications are that the longer extracts were made between March and October, 1898, the detached notes finished before the end of the year, and the fourth collection (if connected with Father Jérôme) in the early months of 1899.

The dating of the second set of extracts is less certain, but as it bears the 'Jesus Charitas' monogram that De Foucauld did not adopt on his letters until March 1902,¹² it is probably not earlier than that. However, as these extracts are very similar to those made in the first selection, the general conclusion can be upheld that De Foucauld's understanding of John of the Cross was formed, if not fixed, in the space of a single year, March 1898 - March 1899.

NOTES

1. Apart from the matters on which the two differed, cf., p. 261 supra.
2. cf., pp. 263f supra.
3. LMB 29.1.1916 (p.241).
4. IAH* 26.8.1897 (p.52).
5. IAH 8.3.1898 (p.82), except for an early, isolated reference, cf., chap. 4, note 193.
6. IAH* 28.5.1898 (p.83); F.F. 197 15.10.1898 (SPA, p.123), cf., p. 235 supra.
7. LPJ 2.1.1899 (LFT, pp.150, 155). A similar recommendation followed later, cf., IHC 13.7.1903 (p.143).
8. cf., Appendix B, note 2.
9. F.F.c235, chap. 17 (unpublished), cf., 1909-13 Directoire, Article 19 (D, p.62) identical with 1901 text.
10. cf., IAH 22.3.1900 (p.121), IMG, 30.9.1902 (OS, p.685), and undated notes - 1909? - (01-X, 230).
11. Vie et Oeuvres de Saint Jean de la Croix, 1702 (Paris: Oudin, 1892-43), 4 vols., including a life by Jérôme de St. Joseph, cf., chap. 4 note 187 on De Foucauld's interest in this.
12. cf., IHC 12.3.1902 (p.121), LMB 6.3.1902 (p.99), LDM 17.3.1902 (LFT, p.226).

APPENDIX D :DE FOUCAULD AND ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

De Foucauld was first struck by St. Francis' poverty, and regretted that Akbes did not give him the opportunity to emulate it.¹ Later, having received a copy from Huvelin of the saint's biography,² he saw deeper into Francis' life and picked up Huvelin's point that it was motivated by charity.³ To the extent that literal poverty, concern for charity, and general fidelity to the gospel were foundations of De Foucauld's outlook, one could say - as Huvelin did⁴ - that he absorbed the spirit of St. Francis. But De Foucauld himself pointed out a difference between them, since he and the Petits Frères wished 'to reproduce the hidden life of our Lord, as Saint Francis of Assisi was engaged in reproducing his public life'.⁵ Hence it is not surprising that Huvelin advised him not to become a Franciscan or even by more loosely associated as a lay member of the Third Order,⁶ despite the fact that Francis was Huvelin's favourite saint.⁷ Though perhaps a more significant point of difference is that De Foucauld did not really see Francis' life as one of 'all life, all movement, light and warmth' as Huvelin did,⁸ but tended to focus on secondary aspects.

Thus the Holy Land meditations included a handful of references to Francis as an exemplary imitator of Christ through having the same feelings, the same ends in view, and employing the same means to reach them,⁹ including fasting, nights of prayer, and the giving of alms to those who asked for them - to the extent of becoming the poorest of the poor oneself.¹⁰ Francis' defence of poverty for the reason that possession of goods involves the trouble of employing armies to protect them was also quoted,¹¹ as was the illustration of the place in the



Christian life for effort given by the saint's collecting stones for the repair of the church of St. Damien.¹² Whilst on his return to France, De Foucauld made only a single extract from the life of Francis on the need for separation from all attachments.¹³

It would seem that St. Francis merely occasionally echoed De Foucauld's ideas and was not an influential or specific guide. For even when the distinction between the hidden life and the active life became blurred for De Foucauld following his 1904 tour round the Sahara, his renewed interest in the saint produced no new ideas. Another twelve extracts were made from the biography, some concerning the basic framework of poverty, manual work, prayer and worship which was to be maintained, others more pertinently referring to missionary methods and experiences of being misunderstood or persecuted.¹⁴ So, as with extracts from the biography of another missionary, St. Peter Claver,¹⁵ these quotations performed the function of confirming or supporting De Foucauld in his work, rather than leading him into any new fields.

NOTES

1. LAH 30.10.1890 (p.5).
2. LAH 27.6.1892 (p.23). Huvelin had contributed a preface to La Vie de S. François D'Assise, (Legende des Trois Compagnons), translated by Mme Marie de Richemont (Paris: Poussielgue, 1891).
3. Ibid. An observation in the preface that Francis knew people and their situations through loving them was to be copied out in 1904; cf., F.F. 344, note 11.
4. LAH* 13.5.1897 (p.47).
5. LMB 26.12.1893 (p.49), and incorporated in 1896 Rule (TPF, p.136).
6. cf., note 4.
7. Six, J.F., 'Huvelin', DSP 7 cols. 1200-4, referring to Von Hügel, Essays and Addresses, 2.241.
8. Description given by Huvelin to Von Hügel in Maxim 20; Selected Letters pp.58-63.
9. F.F. 200, Med. 31 on faith (01-IV.1, 120); cf., meds. 2, 7, 41 (01-IV.1, 82, 87, 136), and F.F. 197 4.10.1898 (unpublished).
10. F.F. 218 (01-IX.1, 176).
11. F.F. 202 med. 75 (01-VII, 46).
12. Vie, op.cit., note 2, chap. 7, referred to in LAH 14.5.1900 (pp. 149, 151).
13. F.F. 343 note 11, identical to F.F. 344 note 9, cf., p. 260 supra.
14. F.F. 344 extracts 9-17 (Nos. 13-16 being duplicated, making a total of 13 different quotations) from chaps. 4, 7, 9, 10, 11 of the Life of St. Francis, and from his will. (Vie, op. cit., note 2, pp. VI, 47, 64f, 66f, 75f, 78, 81, 135, 138f. Three extracts had previously been noted c 1898 in F.F. 286; cf., Chapter Four note 185.
15. cf., IMG 30.9.1902 (OS, p.692), and Diary entry 13.7.1903, cf., B, p.197.

APPENDIX E : THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUESTABLE FIVE

A	B	C
Quest for God's good Faith Love of God	Faith Love of God Quest for God's good	Faith Hope Love of God
<div data-bbox="190 637 706 652" style="text-align: center;">  </div> Obedience to God Imitation of God Prayer Sacrifice Hope Truth Love of Neighbour Humility Gentleness		Love of Neighbour Quest for God's good Obedience to God Imitation of God Humility Gentleness Prayer Sacrifice Truth
<div data-bbox="401 962 1065 984" style="text-align: center;">  </div> Courage Chastity Poverty Abjection Retreat Manual Work Holy Eucharist Holy Church Passion Sacred Heart Perpetual Presence (of Christ)		

This Table (cf., Chapter Four, note 245) gives the order in which De Foucauld assembled extracts from the Gospels as summaries of the life and teaching of Jesus. Column A refers to Notre Tendre Sauveur (F.F. 284 and F.F. 285, reprinted in OS, pp.96-124), composed at Nazareth, probably before the others, on account of the more detailed sub-headings given to the section on love for one's neighbour. (cf., OS, pp.109f).

Column B refers to Le Modèle Unique (F.F. 283), copied out from the c 1897-8 original in 1906 (cf., IAH 20.4.1906).

Column C refers to Notre Modèle, the version used to preface the 1901 revised Rule and the 1909-1913 Directoire (D, pp.9, 19-38), but composed earlier.

It will be noted that the basic list of virtues given in F.F. 218, with the addition of 'gentleness' and 'imitation of God' in the list in 'Jesus fiat voluntas tua' (Ol-IX.1, 242), was enlarged to include five other matters: Holy Eucharist, Holy Church, Passion, Sacred Heart, and the Perpetual Presence of Christ.

A similarly broad view was taken in the 1905 meditations (F.F. 205) which summarised the life and teaching of Jesus with series of quotations under a set of headings derived from the basic list. This was expanded to include Detachment (previously treated as an aspect of Sacrifice), Separation from the world, Holy reading, Silence (previously treated as an aspect of Retreat), Obedience and devotion to Holy Church, and Zeal for salvation of souls, as well as briefer treatment of some other topics.

APPENDIX F : DOM POLYCARPE - MODEL MONK

Text of De Foucauld's appreciation of Dom Polycarpe (1827-25.10.1895), written September-October 1896, and incorporated in Reydon, J.B., Dom Polycarpe (Nîmes: Gervais - Bedot, 1897). Reprinted in LFT, pp.99-102.

'...The most impressive virtue of the Reverend Father, that which directed all his actions, was inviolable attachment to duty. Duty, done with a scrupulous conscientiousness and an invincible courage, was his life. For him, the mere wishes of his superiors were orders which he carried out without hesitating, at once and with all his heart.

Something seemed useful to him? He offered to undertake it. Was there a mean or laborious job? He claimed it as a favour. In these last years, we saw him at one and the same time master of novices and lay brothers, schoolmaster and laundry man, at the same time as being second superior.

He carried out all the tasks which these posts imposed on him with equal perfection, with meticulous care. Was he teaching arithmetic to the poor little Turks? He passed long hours in preparing lessons. Was he instructing young religious? He composed courses for them in Holy Scripture and history, written with as much care as if he had a hundred pupils in place of two. Whatever he did, he did it with an infinite conscientiousness, for all that he did, he did for God. It is truly the just who live by faith.

What courage did this inviolable devotion to duty not ask of him! Disabled to the utmost degree, he never ceased to give an example of monastic regularity. Up to the end he was first in church at 2 am. Almost up to his last day he rang the rising bell himself: and he has been seen scarcely able to stand up, dragging himself along the courtyards to light the lamps before 2 am. If he was not asleep at 11 pm, which happened often, he lit his lamp and passed the night sleepless, in fear of not hearing the hour for rising strike.

He was sick, almost voiceless, and he found strength to go to do two-hour classes with the little natives. Neither age nor sickness prevented him from going to choir, refectory and chapter, up to the end. He told how his pere-maitre had gone to Chapter on the day of his death. He followed this example and was up and about on the last day of his life. He died sitting, clothed in his habit, fully conscious, in the middle of his community!

He observed the smallest details of the Rule, and often repeated, 'Be faithful in the little things so as to be so in the great, and do not forget that to obey the Rule is to obey God'.

As he only saw duty, he forgot himself entirely. Duty, obedience, the good of souls, were all that mattered to him: they were the only motives of his acts: nothing it seems, had his own good as its object.

He was truly 'dead' to himself, truly 'mortified and crucified', no more occupied with himself than if he had not existed.

And with this so absolute self-forgetfulness, what humility! How he, who was so eminent in intelligence, knowledge, education, dignity, effaced himself, how he obeyed, how he loved the humble, how he took pleasure in the most lowly occupations! His favourite company was the fine old lay brothers and the little children. 'They are the souls who go most directly to God' he used to say. With what delight he, who was so educated, and who loved study so much, immersed himself in the most humble manual jobs. When he had no more strength to dig the soil he washed the linen; then he had to be content to mend it. How edifying it was when one went into his cell during work time, to see him, needle in hand; mending some stockings!

And how he practised holy poverty, that mother of humility and penance! How many years have we seen him live in a hut of a few square feet, whose thatched roof was low enough to touch with the hand, and which only received daylight by a dormer window with no other fastening than a piece of calico. It was the lowliest and poorest possible: it was that which he preferred. He had truly espoused poverty, that incomparable companion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And how all his virtues blossomed in the incomparable kindness with which he enfolded, not only all men, but all God's creatures, even the animals, pouring out the riches of his heart on all that God has 'found good'. What tenderness for the sick! Suffering himself, he always found enough strength to visit them, talk to them; console them, divert them. He did not count the hours he gave to them, four, five, times a day he went to see some patient to whom his visit did good. How righteously indignant he was when he saw some negligence in the care of the sick!

And with the novices, what patience, what considerateness, what motherly attentions! One day, when we knew he was tired and in bed, we were absolutely astonished to see him up at 5 am with the religious who were going out to the fields. He only got up to say that a novice should return (before the others, so as to have time to write a letter!)

There was a dormitory where he had never been able to ascend, his disabilities not allowing him to climb its staircase. Once, however, he appeared there, God knows at what price in effort. Why? To forbid a novice a penance which might tire him!

His joy was to spend himself and strip himself for others. Whatever garment, whatever object that was useful to him, even if it was almost indispensable; at the first opportunity he forced a novice, an invalid, to accept it.

What can be said of the tenderness with which he encouraged and relieved souls! Oh! How he knew how to console, and how hearts found assurance and peace again very quickly with him!

His charity was truly a properly ordered charity. In reality so good and gentle, he was severe when it was a matter of good, and he was not afraid to give a strict direction; he loved souls too much not to thrust them into the way of the cross, the only one where one can be with our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that which he knew himself, this way

of the cross. What sufferings did he not face in his life, so uniquely consecrated to duty done with such spirit? Premature infirmities, almost continual physical sufferings, obstacles, moral tests of all kinds! And among so many torments, the most admirable peace! Never a word of despondency, sadness or grumbling: 'as the good God wishes' was his only word and his only thought.

One of his joys was to go to the church at the hours when it was most deserted, and to spend a long time there alone before the most holy Sacrament.

And what to say of his devotion to the holy Virgin? He was truly her son, yes, the completely devoted son of Mary. Which of us have not noticed that his eyes turned towards her picture constantly? He never stopped telling us: 'Make all your prayers, all your actions, in union with her, and commit them to her. A mother entering a house with her child, tidies the child's hair; so does the holy Virgin for our works and prayers: if we commit them to her, in carrying them to God she adds what is lacking to them, and makes the bad ones good. Oh! my children, love Mary well, love her with all your heart!....'

APPENDIX G :DE FOUCAULD'S CORRESPONDENCE (1901-1916)TABLE SIX

	<u>To religious</u> ¹	<u>To military friends</u> ²
1901	9	16
1902	19	14
1903	20	11
1904	12	8
1905	18	9
1906	13	4
1907	13	4
1908	15	12
1909	13 132	15 93
1910	8	26
1911	2	29
1912	4	18
1913	4	19
1914	7	18
1915	8	61
1916	6 39	52 223
	<u>171</u>	<u>316</u>

NOTES

- 1 Includes all given or mentioned in IAH, IFT, IAC, MSM, Q, IS, and CCF.
2. Includes all given or mentioned in LHC, LGL, AS.1, AS.2, Q, IS, and CCF.

* Charles de Foucauld et Mere Saint Michel, Ed. R.P. Chaleur
(Paris: Ed. St. Paul, 1946).

This table (cf., Chapter Five, note 295), omits letters written to De Foucauld's relations (IMB, IMBL, LRBL, etc.), and the 80-odd letters to Massignon from 1906 onwards (cf., Appendix 1).

Single or very occasional letters to some other correspondents have also been left out (for their names, cf., IS, pp.418-23), but the general pattern of De Foucauld's changing balance of interest remains good. Indeed, restoration of the letters to Dom Martin for 1903-1908 which seem to have been destroyed (LFT, p.259), would only reinforce the difference between 1901-1909 and 1910-1916.

APPENDIX H :DE FOUCAULD AND EDUCATION

When he moved to Tamanrasset, De Foucauld maintained his concern that the church be involved in educational and welfare work in the expression of his interest in direct and indirect education at all levels. Whether in schools,¹ Christian villages for freed slaves,² or agricultural colonies.³ At first he had hoped that White Fathers or White Sisters could be sent to undertake the work, but after about 1906 he looked increasingly towards lay men and women,⁴ no doubt as a substitute, but also because they could make closer contacts.⁵ Indeed, true to his belief in learning through example and experience, De Foucauld even suggested mixed marriages so that Christian family life could be demonstrated on the spot.⁶

This would be an important development, for De Foucauld came to see that although God could work through instantaneous conversions of the Touareg from Islam, it appeared that he had ordained that slow and gradual progress be made through education and moral uplift. '...for if holiness alone were needed, how was it not granted to St. Francis of Assisi to convert them?'⁷ However, nothing came of De Foucauld's efforts to encourage settlers,⁸ so he had to be content with taking a single Touareg, Ouksem, all the way to France to see for himself.⁹

From the end of 1907, De Foucauld became more concerned that the French themselves be educated in their colonial responsibilities,¹⁰ and to this end used his 1909, 1911 and 1913 trips to France to get a prayer union¹¹ set up. For, as he prophetically stated in 1912,¹² and underlined more urgently in 1916,¹³ if colonial peoples were treated as inferiors rather than equals, they would eventually rise up against their self-styled masters.

NOTES

1. LAC 9.6.1908, 11.3.1909 (pp.44, 54f) (SPA, pp.181, 183f); cf., Chapter Five, note 206.
2. cf., Chapter Five, notes 362, 365.
3. Letter to Mgr Livinhac 2.1.1905 (OS, p.643); cf., Chapter Five, note 207.
4. cf., LMB 24.4.1906 (p.149), and letter of 1913 detailing the skills necessary in a Frenchwoman who wished to come out to help the Touareg (B, pp.312-15).
5. LAC 11.3.1909 (pp.54ff), (SPA, p.184), quoting Directoire, Art. 36 (D, pp.100f).
6. R. Hérisson, Avec le Père de Foucauld et le Général Laperrine (Paris: Plon, 1937), pp.185f.
7. LAC 9.6.1908 (p.45) (SPA, p.182).
8. Either personally, or through supporting the efforts of a M. Lutoslawski, who wished to encourage Catholic Poles to emigrate to the French colonies in North Africa rather than risk the spiritual dangers of settling in the USA. cf., IHC 23.8.1913, 29.8.1913, 28.11.1913 (pp.201ff, 206).
9. cf., p. 387 supra.
10. By means of a popular book, which he hoped the novelist R. Bazin would write, cf., LAH 22.11.1907, 1.1.1908 (pp.277, 279). This was to appear in 1921 as the first and in many ways the best biography of De Foucauld. But its prophetic content was hidden in the story.
11. The Union des Frères et Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus (governed by the Directoire), set up with the help of M. Caron and the encouragement of L. Massignon.
12. Letter to the Duc de Fitz-James, 11.12.1912 (B, pp.306f).
13. Letter to Bazin, 16.7.1916 (B, pp.332f).

APPENDIX I :DE FOUCAULD AND LOUIS MASSIGNON

Louis Massignon (1883-1962) made his first contact¹ with De Foucauld in a letter of 1906 thanking the former explorer for the reliability of his great work on Morocco which Massignon had used in his 1904 travels for historical research. The second came after Massignon's conversion in 1908, following a narrow escape from death when arrested as a spy while travelling incognito on an archaeological expedition to Baghdad. While in prison he had a mystical experience of the presence of five people including Al-Hallaj (the tenth century Sufi mystic martyr of his doctoral thesis) and De Foucauld himself.

These incidents turned his thoughts towards the religious life, so he wrote to De Foucauld about it and began a correspondence which lasted until the latter's death. Massignon received some 80 letters from his friend during this period,² they met each time De Foucauld came to France, and Massignon helped promote the Confrérie³ and undertook the publication of the Directoire, although he had to wait from 1916 to 1928 to obtain an imprimatur. De Foucauld had hoped that Massignon would succeed him at Tamanrasset, but the latter felt that he was called to work with the hundreds of millions of Arab-speaking Muslims rather than the few thousand Touareg.⁴

Their outlook was different also.⁵ Although De Foucauld had been turned back to Christianity through the example of the seriousness with which the Muslims of Morocco performed their religious duties, he had no knowledge of the religion from the inside or any appreciation of Islamic mysticism of the kind Massignon had. The Islam that he knew in the Sahara was only a veneer on the incipient animism of the Touareg.⁶ In

his view both should be replaced by Christianity, even if it took many centuries to accomplish.⁷ By contrast

'...Massignon was concerned that Christians came to recognise the Quran as an authentic religious and mystical source. Muslims as brothers, and Hallaj in particular as a saint. He was not party to any efforts to convert Muslims to Christianity. He was a man devoted to seeking and bearing witness to spiritual unity between people and one who by his life showed its surprising possibility.'⁸

Yet the differences between the two can be exaggerated, for it must be remembered that as well as helping De Foucauld establish his Confrérie, Massignon set up the Badilya movement in 1934. A movement described as 'a call addressed first to Arab Christians, then to all Christians, to substitute themselves for their Muslim brothers through prayer, fasting, and sacrifice, to live in their name this total gift of the self which Christian faith requires'.⁹ Likewise, De Foucauld referred with admiration to the 'first Muslims, more virtuous than the Christians they were fighting',¹⁰ and was as scathing as his friend about encouraging Muslims to embrace a cultural Christianity alone. On the other hand, this comment was made before De Foucauld went to Africa. When he had been there some time and looked at things from a missionary perspective, the mixture of truth and error in Islam came to appear as a problem to reaching clear-cut conversions to Christianity.¹¹ So there is some point in the distinction that has been suggested between Massignon as a 'tireless Christian witness for Islam', and De Foucauld as a 'mystical witness for Jesus before Islam'.¹²

NOTES

1. This and the following paragraph are based on 'Toute une vie avec un frere parti au desert: Foucauld' L. Massignon, Parole Donnee (Paris: Julliard, 1962) pp.63-72.
2. L. Massignon, Opera Minora, III (Liban: Dar Al-Maref, 1963), 772.
3. cf., his article 'L'union de prieres pour le developpement de l'esprit missionnaire surtout en faveur des colonies Francaises' in La Vie Spirituelle 1922 (reprinted in D, pp.135-51).
4. M. Maillet, (Ed.) Paul Claudel Louis Massignon 1908-1914 Correspondence (Desclee, 1973) p.226 note 22.
5. The available edited extracts of De Foucauld's letters to Massignon give unremarkable spiritual counsel or details of plans for the Confrerie or Directoire (cf OS, pp.469-72, 767-80), so it is difficult to tell if they disagreed. It has not been possible to see the originals to check on this point, but a reading of other letters written in this period (cf., Note 4 above) shows that Massignon had wider intellectual horizons and an ability to think theologically that De Foucauld never had. In this it is not inept to liken Massignon to Thomas Merton (cf., work cited in Note 8 below, pp.170-7) as a twentieth century figure, while De Foucauld really belongs to the nineteenth if not the seventeenth century.
6. cf., Vermales, P., Au Sahara pendant la guerre europeene (Paris: Larose, 1926) p.183, quoting conclusion from De Foucauld's collection of Touareg prose, and supported by the studies of E.F. Gautier.
7. cf., IMG 30.9.1902 (OS, p.680), LRBL Pentecost 1908 (OS, p.636), LAC 9.6.1908 (pp.44-7) (SPA, pp.180-2).
8. G. Basetti-Sani, Ed. and trans. from the Italian by A.H. Cutler, Louis Massignon (1883-1962) Christian Ecumenist Prophet of Inter-Religious Reconciliation (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1974) p.7. This, the only study yet available in English, is a combination of biographical sketches by a friend and essays drawn from the material available in Massignon's published works. A full scale independent biography has yet to be attempted.
9. L. Gardet, 'Massignon' DSP fasc LXVI-LXVII (1978), col.751; cf., R.L. Moreau, La 'Badaliya', Parole et Mission, 35 (1966).
10. LHC 14.8.1901 (p.92).
11. Letter to M. Jorrand 7.3.1908 (IFT, p.263), LAC 9.6.1908 (pp.44-7).
12. A. Merad, Charles de Foucauld au regard de l'Islam (Lyon: Chalet, 1975), p.75.

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PART II - CHARLES DE FOUCAULD

SECTION A: MAJOR TEXTS AND STUDIES

This select bibliography includes only those texts and studies found most useful. It does not replace the comprehensive bibliographies given in CCF 2, pp. 167-82 (-1939), IS, pp. 404-36 (-1958), or Ol-X, pp. 233-9 (1953-1971). The following works were frequently consulted and are cited by the abbreviations given:

- B Bazin, R., Charles de Foucauld, explorateur du Maroc, ermite du Sahara (Paris: Plon, 1921).
Quotations from ET: Charles de Foucauld
(London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1931²)
- IS Six, J.F., Itinéraire spirituel de Charles de Foucauld (Paris: Seuil, 1958).
- TPF Gorée, G., Sur les traces de Charles de Foucauld
(Grenoble: Arthaud, 1943²), partial ET: Memories of Charles de Foucauld (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1938).
- CCF Cahiers Charles de Foucauld (1946-1956), some articles reprinted in Charles de Foucauld intime (Paris: La Colombe, 1952).
- SPA Six, J.F. (Ed.), Spiritual Autobiography of Charles de Foucauld (Wheatthampstead: Anthony Clarke, 1964).
translation of Lettres et Carnets (Paris: Seuil, 1966).
- SPG A Little Brother, Silent Pilgrimage to God (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1974); translation of Ce que croyait Charles de Foucauld (Paris: Mame, 1971).
- POTTIER Pottier, R., La vocation Saharienne du Père de Foucauld (Paris: Plon, 1939).
- Q Quesnel, R., Charles de Foucauld. Les étapes d'une recherche (Mame: Tours, 1966).

- OS Oeuvres Spirituelles (Paris: Seuil, 1958).
- ES Écrits spirituels de Charles de Foucauld (Paris: de Gigord, 1924) The first anthology, now superseded by OI.
- NES Nouveaux Écrits Spirituels (Paris: Plon, 1950).
- C Contemplation (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969).
- D Directoire (Paris: Seuil, 1961).

CORRESPONDENCE

- LMB Lettres à Mme de Bondy (Paris: Desclée, 1966).
- LMBL Letters to Mme de Blic.
- LRBL Letters to Raymond de Blic.
- LAH Père de Foucauld - Abbé Huvelin: Correspondance inédite (Tournai: Desclee, 1957) Letters from Huvelin are cited LAH*
- LFT Robert, A., (ed.) Lettres à mes frères de la Trappe (Paris: Cerf 1969). Quotations from abbreviated ET: Letters from the Desert (London: Burns and Oates, 1977) cited as LD. Recipients identified as follows:
 LDM Dom Martin
 LPA Père Augustin
 LPE Père Eugène
 LPJ Père Jérôme
- LMG Letters to Mgr Guérin (in OS, CCF, and Q), Letters from him cited LMG*.
- LHC Lettres à Henry de Castries (Paris: Grasset, 1938).
- AS.1, AS.2 Gorée, G. (ed.), Les amitiés sahariennes du Père de Foucauld, 2 vol. (Grenoble, Arthaud, 1946). Letters to army officers.
- IGL Lettres inédites au Général Laperrine, pacificateur du Sahara. (Paris: La Colombe, 1955).
- LAC Letters to Mgr Caron in XXV Lettres inédites (Paris: Bonne Presse, 1946).
- LM Letters to Louis Massignon (mainly in OS, pp. 767-79).

OEUVRES SPIRITUELLES DU PERE CHARLES DE FOUCAULD

This édition intégrale (something of a misnomer as it is based on the incomplete and occasionally faulty certified typescript copies of De Foucauld's writings) provided with introductions and notes by Mgr. B. Jacqueline, the current postulateur de la cause de béatification, is being published by Nouvelle Cité, Paris. The following volumes have appeared so far. The texts they contain are indicated according to the notation given in the following section.

OI-IV.I	<u>En vue de Dieu seul</u> (1973)	}	F.F. 200
OI-IV.II	<u>Aux plus petits de mes frères</u> (1973)		
OI-VII	<u>Petit frère de Jésus</u> (1977)		F.F. 201-202
OI-IX.I	<u>La dernière place</u> (1974)		F.F. 218-222
OI-IX.II	<u>Crier l'Évangile</u> (1975)		F.F. 223-224
OI-X	<u>Seul avec Dieu</u> (1975)		F.F. 225.1,
			225.2, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231,
			208.1, 233

SECTION B: MANUSCRIPTS: THE 'FONDS FOUCAULD'.

The manuscripts belonging to the diocese of Laghouat, Algeria and deposited in the archives of the Grand Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 6 rue du Regard, Paris, 75006 have recently been reclassified. The ones consulted are cited here according to the arrangement of M.L. Cravetto (cf., her article 'Alchimie d'un catalogue (439 autographes de Charles de Foucauld)' Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité 53 (1977) 199-222), with the abbreviations by which the principal ones have been previously known added for convenience.

- F.F. 197 (CFA) Courtes considerations sur les fêtes de chaque jour de l'année. (Nazareth, 31.10.1897-31.10.1898).
- F.F. 198 (MSE) Méditations sur les Saints Évangiles (Nazareth, c. September 1897 - March 1899; cf., IS, p. 211 note 82. The first 151 meditations up to Mt 23.23 have disappeared.)
- F.F.199 (MSEL) Lecture du Saint Évangile (Nazareth, c.1897, ending at Mt 12).
- F.F.200 (MSEV) Méditations sur les passages des Sts Évangiles relative aux quinze vertus suivantes:...
- F.F.201 (SEE) Extraits des Saintes Évangiles sur l'imitation de Notre-Seigneur, l'amour du prochain, la pauvreté et l'abjection. (Nazareth, 9.6.1898-17.6.1898).
- F.F.202 Essai pour tenir compagnie à Notre-Seigneur
- F.F.203 outline for F.F.202.
- F.F.204 Méditations sur l'Évangile au sujet des principales vertus.
- F.F.205 (MSEB) Méditations sur les Saints Évangiles (1905).
- F.F.206 Méditations sur le S. Évangile... (1.5.1914-2.2.1915).

- F.F.207 Lecture et explications des S.S. Évangiles
(1) S. Mattheu 1 (Begun 15.11.1901, two meditations only).
- F.F.208 Explication du S. Évangile (fragment: meditations 906-923 on Lk).
- F.F.208.1 Retraite annuelle 1904 (anticipée)
- F.F.209 Méditations sur les Psaumes et les Prophetes
(MPP)
- F.F.210 Extraites de l'Ancien Testament
- F.F.211 outline for finishing F.F.210
- F.F.212 Exemples et avis de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ
extraits des Sts. Évangiles
- F.F.214 Extraits des Actes des Apôtres, des Épîtres et
de l'Apocalypse.
- F.F.215 Méditations sur l'Ancien Testament (Gen. 1-39).
(MAT)
- F.F.216 Petites remarques sur la Sainte Bible (finishes at
Ex. 25).
- F.F.217 La Vie chrétienne, d'après Saint Paul - Extraits
de ses Épîtres.
- F.F.218 Retraite faite à Nazareth (5.11.1897-15.11.1897).
(R.N.)
- F.F.219 Retraite faite à Nazareth: Election (copied from
F.F.218, but with additional notes: 'Pentecôte 1899:
Résolutions de la retraite de 90 jours...',
'Ascension '98...')
- F.F.220 Retraite faite à Nazareth/Veni Rabboni.
- F.F.222 La Volonte de Notre-Seigneur.
- F.F.223 Retraite de 8 jours à Ephrem.
(RE)
- F.F.224 Election faite à Nazareth le 26 Avril 1900...
- F.F.225.1 Retraite de Sous-Diaconat (22.12.1900).
- F.F.225.2 Retraite de Diaconat (23.3.1901).
- F.F.226 Election de retraite de Diaconat (23.3.1901).

- F.F.227 Retraite de Sacerdoce (9.6.1901).
- F.F.228 Retraite de Sacerdoce - Election.
- F.F.230 Resolutions de la Retraite annuelle de 1902.
- F.F.231 Retraite annuelle de 1903.
- F.F.232 Retraite annuelle de 1905. (including Examen des trois années 1902, 1903, 1904 et de ma vie à Beni-Abbès).
- F.F.235 Directoire des Petits Frères du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus (1901 - there is a copy indexed as F.F.233).
- F.F.253 Congrégation des Petits Frères de Jésus (14.6.1896).
- F.F.265* Fraternité du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus de Beni-Abbès 1901-5.
- F.F.266* Agenda Messes 1905-1913.
- F.F.267* Agenda de poche 1913.
- F.F.268* Agenda 1914.
- F.F.269* Agenda 1915.
- * Mss not seen, but certified typescript of portions given in OS, pp.338-921 checked.
- F.F.271 Horaire (21.12.1913-25.12.1913 and 1911-1914).
- F.F.283 Le Modèle unique (facsimile published by Publiroc, Marseille, 1935).
- F.F.284 Notre tendre Sauveur.
- F.F.285 copy of F.F.284.
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- F.F.297 Résumé des devoirs du Frère Prieur, etc.
- F.F.317-18 Résumé des études de théologie morale (following Gury-Ballerini).

- F.F. 319 Notes prises à Notre-Dame des Neiges (from the Pontificale Romanum and Liguori's Selva.)
- F.F. 320.1-4 Sommaire des leçons et bouquets spirituels (from Hurter's general and special theology).
- F.F. 325 L'Évangile Présenté aux pauvres nègres du Sahara published by Arthaud, Grenoble, 1937, 1946²; ET: Sermons in the Sahara (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1938).
- F.F. 327 Notes sur la manière de voyager au Sahara (1904 - almost identical to text given in P. Lesourd, La vraie figure du Père de Foucauld (Paris: Flammarion, 1933) pp.251-64)
- F.F. 332* Extraits des oeuvres complètes de S. Jean Chrysostome.
- F.F. 333* Extraits... de saint Jean de la Croix (complete).
- F.F. 334* Extraits... de saint Jean de la Croix (shorter selection).
- F.F. 335* Extraits... de sainte Thérèse (complete).
- F.F. 336* Extraits... de sainte Thérèse (shorter selection).
- F.F. 337* Extraits... Chrysostome (in Latin).
- F.F. 338* Petits extraits: Saint Jean de la Croix.
- F.F. 339* Extraits des lettres de sainte Thérèse.

*This numbering follows that on the Mss boxes, the typescript of the inventory runs F.F.331-338.

- F.F. 341.1, 342 Extraits de 'L'abandon à la Providence Divine' du R.P. Caussade.
- F.F. 343 Passages édifiantes extraits de pieux auteurs (Notre-Dame des Neiges, 1900-1).
- F.F. 344 Varia: Extraits divers d'auteurs pieux commencée a Ghardaia le 15 novembre 1904.
- F.F. 345 Extraits d'auteurs varies.
- F.F. 346 Extraits Instructions sur la manière de gouverner les religieuses...

(Not indexed in this sequence) Règlement provisoire des Ermites du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus and Règle définitive, as given by Six, J.F., Revue Ascétique, 141 (1960) 73-88.

SECTION C: OTHER WORKS

- L'Annonciation, A. de, 'Charles de Foucauld et nous' Carmel (1966) pp. 257-69.
- Aubert, R., 'Foucauld, Charles de' Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques 17. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1971) cols. 1394-1402.
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- Carrouges, M., Foucauld devant l'Afrique du Nord (Paris: Cerf, 1961).
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- Peyriguère, A., 'Testament spirituel' Les Mardis de Dar-el-salam, Cahier Foucauld-Peyriguère, 7 (1958-9).
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